

taining some theological positions concerning the divinity of Christ, and the Holy Trinity; the last of which were intended to refute the accusation, as if the Brethren did not believe in God, or sought, however, to rob the Father of his glory, by which the common people were much incensed against the Brethren, &c. Besides this, the manual of *Daily Words* for the year 1740, entitled, *The Lamb of God in his Godhead and Manhood*, was translated into French, and dedicated to some professors of Geneva.

At last, the people being dissatisfied, that not every one was admitted to the meetings; in order to prevent disturbances, which in such republics have dangerous consequences, the ordinary went away again in the month of May with his whole house. Some of his retinue meeting with ill treatment in passing through a concourse of people; the professors sent him an apology on this head. On this journey the ordinary got into his hands the *Synod of Bern* of 1532, which he, ever since, esteemed very highly as an excellent pastoral instruction.

§ 95.

AFTER the ordinary's return to Wetteravia, on account of the approach of his second voyage to *America*, another synodal conference was held at *Marienborn*, from the 20th of June to the 3d of July 1741. Among other things, a deputation to *Sweden* was resolved upon, in order to give the divines at *Upsal* and *Stockholm* an account of the church of the Brethren. *Martin Dober* and *Arvid Gradin* were nominated for this purpose. They went thither towards the end of the year, and conversed with the divines concerning the doctrine and regulations of the congregation of the Brethren; were kindly treated; and the latter preached, by their desire, several sermons, which found entrance to the hearts, and were attended with blessing.

A chief point at this synod was, that the ordinary, in a discourse to the synodal assembly, laid down the exercise of  
his

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his episcopal function : for he believed, it might be prejudicial to him in his intended labour in *Pennsylvania*, where he purposed to appear merely as a Lutheran divine. He resigned his former offices to bishop *Polycarp Mueller*, who a year ago had been chosen and consecrated in this view. *John Nisfchmann*, then inspector of the seminary, was by a majority of votes elected his colleague, and consecrated, on the 22d of July, at *Herrnhag*, in the presence of the family of the count of Buedingen, and the duke of Wuertenberg Oels.

### § 96.

Soon after, the ordinary went to *Holland* and *England*. At *London*, he held a final conference from the 11th to the 23d of September 1741 with the elders and servants of the church of the Brethren remaining behind. At this conference *Leonhard Dober*, hitherto elder of the congregations, who had before, on account of the increasing labour occasioned by the rapid spread of the Brethren, desired, by a letter, leave to resign his office, laid it down on September the 16th. While the Brethren were consulting about supplying this important office again, but found no Brother equal to the task, and turned with silent tears unto our Saviour, that he himself would counsel them according to his own heart ; it was impressed upon the minds of several at once, that they could do no better than surrender themselves, with the whole church of the Brethren, and all the divisions and affairs of it, solely to the chief Shepherd and Bishop of their souls, the only Head of the catholic Christian church, and to his immediate care and guidance, even with respect to this office ; entreating him, to be pleased to take this office upon himself among his poor, despised Brethren's Unity, surrounded with numberless enemies, and overloaded with so many affairs of his kingdom ; to preside in the council of his servants, though unseen, yet according to his promise, Matt.

xviii. 19, 20. and chap. xxviii. 20, in an inwardly near and powerful manner; and to bestow upon them the necessary insight, strength and support in all their affairs and concerns. They laid the matter before him in prayer, with many tears; during which the whole company were overpowered with such a divine peace, that they could believe, they had prayed according to his will, and were heard. When this event, together with a general absolution and readmission of all that had erred and been deceived, was, on the 13th of November 1741, made known in the congregations, it was done with such a divine impression in all the hearts, amidst many thousand tears of all present, (when even many that were absent, and knew nothing of it, felt at the same hour an unusual divine power) that, ever since, this day has been solemnized in all the congregations of the Brethren with renewed blessing \*. But that which was to be done by men in the manifold affairs of the church of the Brethren, was divided into twelve offices, and the direction thereof, for the present, committed to a conference appointed for that purpose, which then resided at Marienborn, under the presidency of the bishops.

\* It is remarkable, that the *Daily Word* of the 13th of November 1741, on which day the congregations of the Brethren surrendered themselves to the universal Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, and paid him homage, was the very same text upon which *Comenius* preached his farewell-sermon to the congregation at *Fulnek*, delivering them to the chief Shepherd Jesus Christ: *Feed thy people with thy rod.* Micah vii. 14. See the *Dedication* of his *Catechism* published in the year 1661; concerning which, see *Ancient History*, &c. § 45.

THE  
MODERN HISTORY  
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BRETHREN.

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PART V.

*From the Ordinary of the Brethren's Voyage to Pennsylvania in 1741, to the Synod held at Zeist in 1746.*

§ 97.

PRESENTLY after that remarkable event mentioned in the preceding section, the ordinary, with his eldest daughter *Henrietta Benigna Justina*, took shipping for *America*, and arrived at *New York* the 2d of December 1741. He first went to *Philadelphia*, where he acquainted the governor of *Pennsylvania* with his arrival and designs, and desired him to appoint some one to attend his meetings, who understood both German and English, in order to receive the most certain information of what was spoken and transacted in them. He then travelled through the chief districts of the province, where Germans live, in order to become acquainted with the state of religion in this country; which he found confused and deplorable to the last degree. The *Swedes* were the first settlers in this country. Thus,  
there



there were some Swedish churches, which had a regular religious constitution. After the country had devolved to the crown of *England*, and was given by the king to the proprietor *Penn*, the *Quakers* settled it, and the constitution of the country was so ordered, that all who believe in a God, should, without farther distinction of religions, live and enjoy full liberty there. From this time a great number of people from Germany, who partly were not tolerated in their former places of abode, on account of their particular opinions, and partly aimed at bettering their temporal condition, repaired thither; and their number might now amount to an hundred and twenty thousand souls. In like manner, the number of the colonists of various denominations was greatly augmented from the neighbouring provinces, from Great Britain, Ireland, and other European nations. Thus, there were found here, Lutherans; Calvinists, or Reformed, of divers confessions, but especially of the synod of *Dort*; Episcopalians; Presbyterians; Independents; Quakers; Baptists; Mennonites, or Anabaptists of several parties; Arians; Socinians, Schwenkfelders; Inspired, or French Prophets; Seventh Day-Men, or Sabbatharians; Separatists; Hermits; New-lights; New-born; Free-thinkers; and such as doubted of all, and were utterly at a loss what to believe.

The intention of the ordinary was chiefly to serve the German Lutherans, who had no teachers, except some persons, that, for the most part, had neither learning, nor were ordained, and were hired by them for a certain time; nor could procure any regular ministers from Germany, as they could come to no agreement about their salaries. Neither were any sent, till intelligence was received of the labour of the ordinary and his assistants. Thus, their children grew up in the woods without instruction, and most of them without baptism, and, by their wild manners, were rendered despicable to all men. If here and there a soul became concerned about its eternal salvation; such joined the Separatists

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tists and other smaller sects, who had an outward appearance of holiness; and, at the same time, despised, and made a mock of, all other religions, and in particular the Lutheran.

### § 98.

THE Brethren had, for some years, been endeavouring to bring the sincere souls among the several parties in Pennsylvania to the simplicity and unity of the gospel. When, in 1734, the *Schwenkfelders* moved thither from Upper Lusatia, two Brethren were, at their request, sent after them from Herrnhut. (§ 49.) These were visited in 1736 by the Rev. Mr. *Spangenberg*, after he had regulated the colony in *Georgia*. On his return from his visitation in St. Thomas, (bishop *David Nitschmann* having, in the mean time, staid in Pennsylvania) he remained till 1739 with the Brethren, who dwelt among the *Schwenkfelders*, seeking to gain them by his word and walk. He became acquainted with some sincere people of divers denominations, who lamented their disunion among, and aversion to, one another. Among these was *John Adam Gruber*, who wrote an address to the dispersed sincere souls, exhorting them to union. This writing may possibly have been an occasion of the ordinary's sending some Brethren to *Pennsylvania*, and in particular, in 1739, *Andrew Eschenbach*, to preach the gospel among the various parties, and, at length, of his going thither himself. But, even as early as the year 1740, the last Brethren from *Georgia* had retreated thither. (§ 82.) These were acquainted with the celebrated English minister, the Rev. *George Whitefield*, who bought a piece of land in Pennsylvania, which he called *Nazareth*, intending to build there a school for the Negroes. He desired the Brethren to view the land, and take upon them the care of the building. This offer they accepted, as from the hand of Providence. They thus found work and their maintenance, could live together, and had no occasion to be scattered among people of divers sects, who

who derided the Brethren, as they did all those who adhered to a regular religion. They began the building amidst many difficulties, yea, in danger of their lives; since Indians lived on that land, who would not leave it, and who, as they learned afterwards, had frequently formed designs against their lives. In the mean time, Whitefield went again to Georgia, where he differed with *John Hagen*, who was arrived from Europe to preach the gospel among the Indians, about several doctrinal points. This was attended with the painful effect, that, when he came thither in the year 1740, the Brethren were obliged to remove from his land at *Nazareth*.

But before this happened, another gentleman of character offered to sell them a piece of land in the *Forks of the Delaware*, on the *Lecha*. When, just at that time, in December 1740, bishop *David Nitschmann* (§ 91) arrived in Pennsylvania with his company; they took it into consideration, and agreed to build a settlement on that land. The beginning of it was made on the 9th of March 1741. When the ordinary arrived about the end of the year, a small farmhouse with a stable were finished; but the congregation-house was not yet habitable; on which account, Christmas was celebrated in the stable, which was the occasion of calling this place, *Bethlehem*. Not long after, Whitefield found himself necessitated to sell his land with the house half finished. It was offered to the Brethren, who bought it, and finished the house in 1743. Since that time, both places, *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth*, have been greatly increased by several colonies from Europe, and other smaller colonies settled on the *Nazareth-land*.

§ 99

IN the circumstances recited above the ordinary found the state of religion in *Pennsylvania*, and the few Brethren, who were come thither before him; some of whom, even then,

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laboured among the Heathen with blessing. (§ 91.) We will now see, (1.) What he did, during his stay of a year, for the *Religions*, and especially the *Lutheran*; (2.) How it went farther with the *Brethren*; and, (3.) What he undertook for the benefit of the *Mission among the Heathen*.

The beginning of his labour in the *Religions*, he made at the end of the year 1741, with a public sermon in the Reformed church at *Germantown*, about six miles from *Philadelphia*, which was heard, by a very large auditory of different religious denominations, with great attention. The *Lutherans* at *Philadelphia* had fitted up a barn for their public worship, in which the Reformed also performed divine service every fourth Sunday in the month. The former desired to hear the ordinary. He gave previous notice of it to the Reformed minister, who could make no objection; and thus he preached on several Sundays to the Lutherans. He neither could nor would administer the holy communion to the whole promiscuous multitude, who were under no regulation, till, on Palm-Sunday 1742, such an universal emotion of grace was perceived among the whole congregation, as gave him freedom to administer it, on the ensuing Easter-Monday, to all that desired it. Upon this, they gave him a vocation, on the 19th of May, by the name of *Monf. De Thuernslein*, a divine of *Tuebingen*, to be their minister. He had chosen this name, as one of the titles of the counts of *Zinzendorf*, counts of the empire; and laid down, on the 26th of May, being his birth-day, the rank and title of a count, in a public discourse, in presence of the governor and a respectable assembly, for this reason, That this rank and title might not be maltreated, to the dissatisfaction and disadvantage of others of that family, through the reproach and calumnies, which he, as a servant of Christ, neither could nor would avoid. Before he accepted the vocation to be the minister of the Lutherans, he proposed to them some questions, and conditioned with them, that they should never offer him, or his successors, any salary. He also  
formed

formed a church-regulation, by virtue of which, agreeably to the advice of *Luther* and *Spener*, only such, as should desire to be Christians indeed, were to be admitted to the holy communion, and, as an *Ecclesiola in Ecclesia*, to be provided with useful regulations. After they had well considered, and agreed to, all this, he accepted the vocation. He supplied likewise other Lutheran congregations in the country with regular ministers and schoolmasters; and took care that the Lutheran families, scattered up and down the country, should be visited, and served with the gospel by some itinerant preachers, appointed for the purpose. He erected a *Consistory* with some ministers; and was, for the time being, the proper inspector of the Lutheran ministry in Pennsylvania. Wherever they met with opposition, the Brethren were directed, out of love to peace, to give way. When the Reformed in *Philadelphia* dragged his adjunct, *John Christopher Pyrlæus*, from the pulpit, and took away the church, he built another. In the mean time, a minister was sent from Germany, who found entrance among those who could not be admitted by the Brethren to the holy communion. After some expostulation, such as would no longer adhere to the Brethren, were readily given up to him, and the rest were so much the more orderly regulated according to the advice of *Luther* and *Spener*. This gave rise to the subsequent *Country Congregations*, according to the constitution of the church of the Brethren.

Wherever the ordinary, on his travels through the country, was desired to preach, he complied with it, even in Reformed pulpits. But he took care that Reformed Brethren came with the colonists, arriving from time to time from Europe, who might be called by the Reformed to be their ministers.

§ 100.

As to the other religions and smaller parties, many sincere souls among them were greatly concerned on account of the

continual quarrelling with, and judging, one another, and sought peace. The ordinary was willing to make a trial, whether he could be of any assistance to them. Henry Anst, one of the German Reformed, sent a circular letter, dated December the 15th, 1741, to all the religious parties of the German nation, desiring them to send deputies to a *General Meeting at Germantown*, to be held on New-year's day, with the view, according to his own words, "not to quarrel with one another, but to treat in love of the most important articles of faith, in order to see, how near they could come to one another in the fundamental points; and, as to the rest, in opinions which do not subvert the ground of salvation, to bear with one another in love, to the end that all judging and condemning might be lessened and laid aside." For this purpose, seven such *general conversations, or conferences*, were held. The first was at *Germantown*, from the 1st to the 3d of January, old stile; the second in *Falkner's Swamp*, from the 13th to the 15th of January; the third at *Oly*, from the 10th to the 12th of February; the fourth at *Germantown*, from the 10th to the 12th of March; the fifth in the same place, from the 7th to the 9th of April; the sixth in the same place, from the 5th to the 7th of May; the seventh at *Philadelphia*, from the 2d to the 4th of June. In the beginning, almost all sects sent their deputies, who chose the ordinary as syndic or speaker. His view was not, to establish an union of all these religious parties; nor, to join them, or any of them, unto the church of the Moravian Brethren; but to speak fully with them, in all simplicity, according to the holy scriptures, of the most important articles of faith; and, as he himself writes, "to enthrone the Lamb of God, as the Creator, Preserver, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of the whole world, and to introduce the doctrine of his sufferings as the universal theology of the Germans inhabiting Pennsylvania, in theory and practice." He so far succeeded in this intention, that, in the very third session of the first meeting, the simple truth

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of the gospel prevailed over sectarian pride and sophistry in such a manner, that all the deputies with one mouth, and most of them with tears, delivered a confession of the atonement of Jesus, and the justification and sanctification by virtue of it. Though some, indeed, afterwards repented of this confession, and, being ashamed of the victory of the truth, were misled to bitter hatred against, and persecution of, the Brethren; yet they were, at the same time, so humbled by it, that, instead of making a mock of the people in the religions, as they had done hitherto, they were obliged to be ashamed before them. Thus, even at the fourth meeting, all those deputies staid away, who were either ashamed of the simple truth, or apprehensive, that they should not gain entrance and approbation with it among their respective parties. At, and since, the fifth meeting, such only assembled, as sought to abide by the truth as it is in Jesus, both as to themselves and their congregations. These, notwithstanding their particular constitutions and private opinions, bound themselves to brotherly love and fellowship, and, from henceforth, called themselves, *The Congregation of God in the Spirit*, by way of distinction from a congregation living together, or having, however, the same constitution.

But since a literal extract of these transactions, together with the ordinary's own account of the occasion, aim, method, and advantage of them, are laid open before the public \*, I will only add that he wrote also, in particular, to the *Quakers*, *Schwenkfelders*, *Baptists*, and *Seventh-day-men*, taking pains to remove the most hurtful tenets, and to help them into the way of the gospel, though he effected but little, and was ill treated by some.

He also made a proposal of erecting a German school for all the children in the country, who had no opportunity for instruction; and his daughter made, at *Germantown*, a trial

\* In the count's *Natural Reflections*, p. 197 to 215. and in *Spangenberg's Final Apology*, Appendix V. p. 442.

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with some girls. But as such parents, whose children stood most in need of it, were unconcerned about the matter, this proposal was laid aside; and some children out of the country were afterwards taken into the institutions erected for that purpose.

### § 101.

No deputies of the Moravian Brethren could appear at these conferences, the few Brethren, who were come before and with the ordinary, forming as yet no regular constitution or congregation, and, therefore, like many of other religious parties, were only present at them as guests. In the mean time, the colonists, who were chosen by the Brethren to supply the places of the first inhabitants of *Pilgrimage*, but not accepted, (§ 92.) had been, with others, appointed as the first proper colony for Pennsylvania. They sailed from *London*, where they were formed into a regular congregation, in March 1742; and, after having been three times in danger of falling into the hands of Spanish privateers, arrived at Philadelphia, June the 7th, 1742, new stile. Their arrival was notified to the seventh conference, which was just then sitting. They were invited to it, and, with the Brethren and Sisters that were there before, in all an hundred and twenty, received by all the deputies into the fellowship of the, then so-called, *Congregation of God in the Spirit*, acknowledged and blessed as a distinct congregation. They then went to *Bethlehem*; where they received their proper regulation, June the 25th. These Brethren, after the example of the *Pilgrim-congregation* in Europe, were to endeavour to serve with the gospel all the religions in the country, wherever they should find entrance. To this end, they resolved, after the pattern of the first church at Jerusalem, to have all things common in their house-keeping, and to turn the profits of the labour of their hands to their own use, but, being themselves provided with the necessaries, to apply the surplus to the education of children, the maintenance and



support of the ministers and schoolmasters, who served their congregations in the whole country, without any regular salary; and for the benefit of the missions among the Indians. This oeconomy was carried on for twenty years; but, at length, by the farther increase of the place, on account of various unforeseen difficulties, obliged to be altered; when things were regulated there, as in the rest of the congregation-places, according to a resolution already taken in the life time of the ordinary.

With regard to the colony at *Nazareth*, in particular, it met at first with hinderances in its settling from the Indians; who, as it was mentioned in § 98, lived on the land bought of the *Six Nations*, and claimed it as their property. Though the government, upon proper notice given them, commissioned the justice of the peace in that district to drive them away; and though the great council of the Indians, which had sold the land to government, commanded them to remove; yet the Brethren, unwilling to incense these savages against themselves, whom they wished to win by the gospel, upon their acknowledging they had done wrong, and offering to move away, gave them what they desired for their improvements.

### § 102.

THE Indians in *Canada* consist of many tribes, every one of which has its own language. The chief tribe of them is called, The *Iroquois*; but they stile themselves *Aquanuschioni*, that is, *Covenant-People*, since they consist of several nations united together. They were five at first, afterwards six, and now there are seven such nations, viz. the *Maquas* or *Mobocks*, *Oneyders*, *Onondagers*, *Senekers*, *Cayugers*, *Tuscarores*, and *Nanticocks*. They hold their covenant-day, or great council, commonly at *Onondago*, not far from lake *Ontario*. They live mostly by hunting, and do not like to live near the Europeans. They value themselves greatly on the supposed simplicity

simplicity of their manners, on their politics and liberty; and can hardly be content without war, in which they are exceedingly valiant and cruel, being used even to slay and devour some of their prisoners. They have reduced many Indian nations to subjection to them, and, among the rest, the former owners of Pennsylvania, called by the English, *Delawares*, as also the *Mahikanders*. These like better to live near the Europeans, and some of them maintain themselves, besides hunting, with selling various sorts of wooden ware. By means of their commerce with the Europeans, they learn many new vices, besides their old, and are on that account despised by the *Iroquois*, though they all are much addicted to drink, and plunge themselves into the utmost misery by the spirituous liquors imported by European traders.

Among the *Mahikanders*, *Christian Henry Rauch* had resided for some years as missionary; (§ 91.) and other Brethren were ready to go to his assistance. The ordinary also was willing to become acquainted with these nations, and went, the 24th of July 1742, over the Blue Mountains, to the *Delawares* at *Meniolagemekah* \*. He and his company preached to them their Creator and Redeemer: and, though no fruit appeared at that time, yet, after some years, when a congregation of believers from among the Heathen took refuge to, and were settled in, their neighbourhood, most of them were converted and baptized.

The ordinary, on his return, met with the *Sachems*, or chiefs of the Six Nations, on their way home from the renewal of their covenant with the government of Pennsylvania. By *Conrad Weisser*, a justice of the peace, and regular

\* When learned readers neither find such names as these in books of geography, nor can be informed of them by the present inhabitants of the country; they are to ascribe it to the Indian names of places, creeks or brooks, and the like, being generally lost, when Europeans take possession of, and inhabit, those places.

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interpreter of government, he asked them, whether they had any objection to some of his Brethren living among them, not as traders, but as servants of God, who should learn their language, and, without fee or reward, make known to the Indians the great word of their redemption: and whether they would lay no hinderance in the way of those who should receive it? Conrad Weisser added of his own accord, “ This is the man, whom God has sent over the great water “ to whites and tawnys, to make his will known unto “ them.” The Indians, having hearkened to this proposal with great respect, entered into council upon it, and made the following reply to the ordinary, ‘ That his Brethren might ‘ go in and out among them without molestation, and should ‘ have all liberty to teach.’ As a token of friendship, they gave him a *Fathom of Wampum* \*. This covenant, and the acquaintance with the *Six Nations*, have been often renewed since by deputations from the Brethren. In consequence of this, Brethren have, from time to time, lived in their chief town *Onondago*, learning their language, and, by this means, doing many good services to government. But the preaching of the gospel has hitherto not been attended with fruit among the *Iroquois*. The greatest benefit accruing from their friendship, is, that they lay no hinderance in the way of conversion of the Indian nations in subjection to them.

§ 103.

THE ordinary made his second journey to the Indians, in August 1742, to *Chekamekah*, a place of the *Mahikanders*, in the *Stiffik* mountains, on the borders of *Connecticut* in New England. Here it was properly, that, according to § 91, the missionary *Christian Henry Rauch* had, in great danger of

\* *Wampum* is a sort of shells of various colours, by the different mixture of which they can again remember, after many years, the whole answer they gave at the time. On this account, such a belt, or *fathom*, is of the same value to them, as a written record is to us.

his life, preached the gospel with blessing. *Tschob*, one of the Indians, who had called him to be the preacher to their nation, and was afterwards baptized by the name of *John*, was, of a vile drunkard and frightful bear, who, in the first uneasiness of his heart, was going to shoot the missionary, become a meek lamb, and a bold witness of Jesus. A charming letter of his, in the *Buedingen-Collection*, as also the said *Conrad Weisser's* testimony of him and the Heathen-congregation at *Chekomekah*, together with a report and a diary from thence, cannot be read without emotion of heart. The three first-fruits of this nation were baptized at one of the afore-mentioned conferences, which was held at *Oly*, the 22d of February 1, 42, new stile, and called *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; and their missionary was at the same time ordained. The ordinary, at his visitation, regulated this congregation better, and appointed *John* to be teacher and interpreter, (for he understood, as other *Mahikanders* of this district did, the Low Dutch language,) *Abraham* to be elder, *Isaac*, exhorter, and *Jacob*, servant. He provided them with more missionaries, advising them not to aim at a *net*, but a *bundle of the living*: that is, not to baptize a great many, or all that give assent to the Christian doctrine with their mouths; but such only whose hearts are really affected; and who give hopes of an entire and abiding conversion; to proceed still more slowly in admitting them to the holy communion; to gather the believing Indians from their dispersion among the Europeans, where they found no benefit for their hearts, but occasions of all sorts to seduction, and to settle them in a regular congregation-order; instructing them, indeed, faithfully out of the holy scriptures, but telling them nothing farther for opening the understanding, than their hearts were in a capacity to comprehend, and, through grace, to put in practice.

On this, and other journeys, the ordinary had to bear much opposition, occasioned by the calumnies of the enraged heads of the several religious parties. While he, agreeably  
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to the laws of New England, on his return from *Ghekoma-kah*, rested on a Sunday at *Sopus*, he and his daughter were put under arrest, because he made an hymn, and his daughter copied it, during that time; and each of them were, for writing on a Sunday, fined six shillings as Sabbath-breakers; for which, however, the laws were not so much to be blamed, as the malicious application of, and forcing, their meaning.

§ 104.

THE third journey among the Indians, upon which he set out the 24th of September, and from which he returned in the beginning of November, was through untrodden paths, over steep and dangerous mountains, through brooks and great rivers, which have neither bridges nor ferries, and through thick woods and close underwood, abounding with wild beasts and serpents \*, first to *Schomakin*, to *Schikellimi*, the *Sacham*, or chief, of the *Oneyders*. The ordinary, at entering into the covenant with the Indian chiefs, thought he saw something in this man, which gave him hope to be of use to his soul by private conversation, at least, to gain in him a friend and promoter of the mission. Nor was he disappointed in his hope. He continued a friend of the Brethren, visited them, and experienced, especially in his last days, a lively impression of the gospel in his heart. When he was spoken to concerning baptism, he said, he had been baptized in his infancy. The Brethren then directed him to Jesus, into whom he had been baptized; and soon after he died in the arms of a Brother. We were informed afterwards, that he was born of European parents in French Canada, taken prisoner, when a child of two years old, and brought up among the Indians. He was so much altered by this way of life, that he was hardly to be distinguished from other savages.

\* Since the ordinary made this journey, the country is become much more populous, and consequently the roads are much more convenient for travellers.

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From hence the ordinary travelled farther westwards to *Ottomaukin*, an Indian town, where he found some Europeans, several of whom, as captives, others, as deserters, were come among the Indians, and grown savage. He then went on north-eastwards to the plain *Skebantowa*, or *Wajomik*, on the *Susquehannah*. The Iroquois had removed the *Schawanos* hither, a fierce nation from *Florida*, whom they had conquered. These, the *Delawares*, and the *Munfys*, are principally the savages, who in the last Indian war murdered so many Europeans on the frontiers of *Pennsylvania* and *Maryland*, and laid waste their habitations. The ordinary staid twenty days in these parts, which appeared to him, preferably to others, convenient for building a town of believing Indians. For he would have been glad to have removed them from the dangerous intercourse with the Europeans, living together, and settled in the country of the Iroquois. The *Schawanos* conceived a jealousy on account of his long stay there, and were determined to murder him and his company. But it was seasonably discovered and prevented by his interpreter, the aforesaid *Conrad Weisser*, who, in the interval, had been obliged to go to *Pennsylvania*, and returned just in the right time. These Indians moved afterwards to the *Ohio*: and now Brethren live in their neighbourhood, and preach the gospel. About four hundred and eighty miles from *Wajomik* on the *Susquehannah*, a Heathen-congregation, after many vicissitudes, is now established; as we shall see in the sequel. (See more of these journeys in *Spangenberg's Apologetical Declaration, Quest. 124, 125. p. 137.*)

### § 105.

THE ordinary, therefore, having in *Pennsylvania* (1.) publicly preached the gospel in many places to the Lutherans, as also to the Reformed; (2.) in the aforesaid conferences, assisted the religions in general, for removing all farther cause, in sincere people, of separating from them, and of running from  
one

one party to another ; (3.) made all possible amendment in the smaller religious parties ; (4.) established a *Congregation of God in the Spirit*, or, an union of the children of God in divers parties, (5.) gathered and regulated small congregations in the different religions, and provided them with regular teachers ; (6.) appointed itinerant preachers at his and the Brethren's expence ; (7.) settled a congregation of the Brethren at *Bethlehem*, and made preparation for the colony at *Nazareth*, (8.) visited the mission among the Heathen, and done many things for the advantage of it : and having, likewise, conferred with some missionaries from *St. Thomas*, provided for their support, and dispatched new Brethren thither, as also to *Surinam* ; he, after delivering, the 9th of January 1743, a farewell-discourse at Philadelphia to all his fellow-labourers, met together out of the country, set out, by way of New York, on his return to Europe.

In the interval, the work of the Lord here had proceeded in blessing, and was greatly increased. But, at the same time, many things had been undertaken, which, according to his principles, were not to his satisfaction. He himself, in his *Natural Reflections*, writes thus concerning them : “ When  
 “ I returned from America,—the Moravian Brethren,  
 “ partly without my knowledge, and partly against my  
 “ mind, had, in a certain degree, obtained a civil state in  
 “ the county of *Ysenburg* ; an enlarged church-liberty, as  
 “ in all the *Prussian* dominions, so particularly in *Silesia* ;  
 “ several considerable congregations in *England* ; and the  
 “ predicament of the evangelical Moravian church, with  
 “ the States-general in *Holland* ; and had even been misled,  
 “ upon hopes which were entirely groundless, to purchase  
 “ a place for a settlement in the duchy of *Saxe Gotha*.—  
 “ I cannot deny, but I felt more inclination, at that time,  
 “ to preach repentance to my people, than to share in their  
 “ glory ; and I have done so faithfully.” So far the words  
 of the ordinary. He could obtain in America but an imperfect knowledge of the wrong proceedings of the Brethren in

*Livonia*,

*Livonia*, and the disturbances arising from thence, as well as of the great accession of many awakened and, in part, merely curious people, some of whom were induced by the controversial writings, and some by the flourishing state of the congregation, but others forced by persecution in their places of abode, to take refuge in the congregations of the Brethren. He, therefore, found it needful to transmit to the elders-conference at *Marienborn* a protest, signed on the 10th of November 1742, against several undertakings; and hastened the more with his departure for Europe.

I will relate, as briefly as possible, without concealing what was done amiss, the chief alterations, which, in not much more than the space of a year, under great reproach, had been undertaken, in so many places, with almost inconceivable success and great blessing, though in much weakness, and, in part, to the real displeasure of the ordinary; but will also previously observe, that the ordinary, in many things, was not rightly informed; that he, in other things, afterwards acknowledged the hand of the Lord; but in many points from henceforth dissented from many of his fellow-labourers, especially in regard of the method; but, nevertheless, was at all times faithfully concerned for them.

#### § 106.

ON the 17th of February 1743 he arrived in *England*, with a company of twenty persons, having been in great danger in a storm on the English coast. It has been already mentioned in § 81, that the Brethren here had become acquainted with many awakened souls, and had been intreated by them, and by some ministers, to take them under their care. In the year 1742, on the 10th of November, by the advice of the ordinary, a more particular regulation was made among them at *London*. Yet they were not to look upon themselves as a Moravian Brethren's congregation; but as societies in the church of England, in union with the Brethren.



**Brethren.** But being greatly disturbed at their meetings by frequent mobs, and, therefore, taking out a *licence* for their chapels and meeting-houses, in which they must be called by a particular religious denomination; they called themselves, *Moravian Brethren*. The ordinary sent a protest against this from America, dated November the 19th, to be deposited by the Brethren in the archives of the archbishop at *Lambeth*. But not much notice was taken of it; nor could he do any thing more in the affair. He, however, rejoiced at the great blessing in England, and the fine prospect of a still greater harvest. *Thomas Erskine*, Esq; a Scotch gentleman, and member of parliament, inviting the Brethren, in the name of some Presbyterian ministers, to *Scotland*, a Brother was sent thither from the seminary, who staid there for some time.

From *London* the ordinary went to *Yorkshire*, into the parts about *Leeds* and *Halifax*, where, since the year 1739, several Brethren, with the Rev. *Benjamin Ingham*, preached the gospel to many thousand souls. In the year 1742, twelve hundred persons, who had hitherto been in societies under his ministry, had, by his advice, committed themselves to the care of the Brethren, promising withal to continue in the church of England. The Brethren, who had the care of them, and preached in many places, lived then at *Smith-House*. Many having requested to be received into the Brethren's congregation, which could not well be refused to such as did not belong to the church of England, or had before separated from it; the ordinary advised them to take a place near *Pudsey*, where the Brethren from Germany, with such of the English as were desirous of living with them, might build a particular congregation-place.

On his return to *London*, he visited some doctors of divinity at *Cambridge*, as also the Brethren's school, or children's reconomy, at *Broad Oaks* in *Essex*. At *London* he visited the archbishop *John Potter*, primate of all England, who still retained his good disposition towards the Brethren,

and entreated them to continue in the old simplicity, and not to be disturbed in it by the learned, either without or within their own circle. The ordinary also deposited in the archiepiscopal library at *Lambeth*, the original writings concerning the correspondence with the Greek church. Among others, he got at London some acquaintance with the eminent Methodist minister, *George Whitefield*, who again sought connexion with the Brethren. When the ordinary left England, he wrote a cordial but serious letter to him, touching several things which had fallen under his notice. He also published a declaration why the congregations and societies of the Brethren were not to be looked upon as being the same with Mr. *Wesley's* institutions.

Moreover, the ordinary found at London a *Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel*, or a company of Brethren and friends, who, according to the exhortation of the Apostle *John*, in his third Epistle, ver. 5 to 8, had agreed to receive in love the Brethren going among the Heathen, who were often obliged to wait some time for an opportunity, to entertain them, to care for their passage, to provide them with necessaries on the way, and to forward their letters and accounts. They met once a month, in order to read the accounts come to hand, and made a collection at this opportunity for defraying the expences, which they lodged in the hands of a committee, who met every week to consult the benefit of the missions.

### § 107.

IN the beginning of April the ordinary arrived in *Holland*. At *Amsterdam* he found the little flock of souls united with the Brethren, notwithstanding all reproach and disturbance, in an happy way, and the ministers among them in great blessing. The colony at *Heerenáyk*, indeed, had not increased much, but was as a light to the whole country. Whosoever came thither (and the calumnies often induced many curious people

people to resort thither) had an opportunity of seeing and hearing themselves the direct contrary to the reports circulated concerning them, by the doctrine, life and conversation of the Brethren. This proved an inducement to many, whose hearts were affected on the occasion, to seek the fellowship of the Brethren at Amsterdam.

At the *Hague* the ordinary found the deputy of the Brethren, *Abraham de Gersdorf*; who, in order to procure rest for the oppressed missions in the *West Indies*, and to obtain leave for the restoration of the missions at the *Cape* and in *Ceylon*, had solicited the States general for church-liberty, in behalf of the Protestant Moravian church, in the *United Provinces*. The latter seemed to the ordinary unnecessary and superfluous. The examination of the doctrine and constitution of the Protestant Moravian church being by the States general referred to a committee, he laid before them the state of the case, and what he and the Brethren properly intended in this affair. It remains however, to this day, by the before-mentioned gracious resolution of the States general; and the Brethren have hitherto led in the Dutch dominions a quiet and peaceable life under their dear magistrates.

At Amsterdam he found the bishops and elders of the church of the Brethren waiting for him. They laid before him what had been done to that time in every respect, together with their motives and proceedings. He declared, in several matters, his scruples and dissent; but was gladly convinced in many points of the propriety of their proceedings.

In their company he found his eldest son, *Christian Renatus*, in a much more pleasing state than he had left him at his departure, and could have expected. He resolved, from henceforth, to make use of him in the affairs of the kingdom of God committed to him. He also found here *Balthasar Frederic*, count of *Prornitz*, of *Halbau*, &c. who, in his ab-

sence, had been induced, by reports of various kinds, to seek acquaintance with the Brethren, and, his heart having been entirely changed by the grace of God, had desired and obtained admission into the congregation of the Brethren; upon which he devoted himself to the service of the Brethren's church.

### § 108.

ABOUT the end of April the ordinary came to *Wetteravia*, and arrived at *Herrnhaag*, just as the congregation was assembled for a congregation-day. He caused great joy by a discourse and relation of his travels and labours. In this district every thing was greatly altered. *Marienborn* was the seat of the Moravian bishops, and the chapel in the palace was granted to the Brethren for public worship. *Ronneburg* had been rented of the count of *Ysenburg Waechtersbach*, and there was a small congregation here. The first contract concerning *Herrnhaag* of 1738, was cancelled, and a new contract of January the 1st, 1743, was made in its stead, signed by the count of *Ysenburg Buedingen* and his three sons. In this deed the Moravian Brethren's church was acknowledged as an orthodox Protestant congregation, from a variety of testimonies, from their own writings, and from their doctrine and practice to that time, sufficiently tried; and had obtained the necessary immunities. But that which gave the ordinary most uneasiness in this affair, was, that the Brethren had, at the same time, procured a loan for the count of *Buedingen*. He had, some years ago, promised the count of *Ysenburg Meerholz*, by way of gratitude for his ready reception of the Brethren at *Marienborn*, to procure him in *Holland* a loan upon *Marienborn*. But the regency at *Buedingen* had persuaded the Brethren to lend them the half of it, upon a mortgage of the castle of *Leusdt* and other estates. In order to induce the creditor in *Holland* the more easily to it, certain privileges and exemptions were allowed him

him and his agents by the regency in the mortgage-deed; which afterwards, when the government came into the hands of another director, who in all things followed the advice of an illustrious adversary of the ordinary, were attended with a variety of grievous consequences, in which the ordinary was also involved by degrees. The mortgage was redeemed; but the enmity against the ordinary increased, and fell at last upon the inhabitants of *Herrnhaag*. The privilege, obtained in 1743, terminated in this, that in 1750 this congregation, which they now endeavoured to charge with being an erroneous sect, and not to be tolerated, was compelled to emigrate; as we shall see in its place.

Many difficulties also occurred with respect to *Marienborn*, which were so far compromised by the ordinary, that his lady, to the great satisfaction of the house of *Meerholz*, had the mortgage assigned to her by the creditor in Holland. Here the ordinary fixed again his residence, served his family and the congregations at *Herrnnaag* and *Ronneburg* alternately with the gospel, and took in particular a faithful care of the seminary at *Marienborn*, which had greatly increased in his absence.

### § 109.

FROM the 1st to the 12th of July, a Synod was held at *Hirschberg* in *Vogtland*, in which, among other points, the state of the congregations in the territories of *Gotha* and *Brandenburg* was taken into consideration. With regard to the former, the case was this. Since a few years, great awakenings had partly arisen, and partly continued, through the service of the Brethren, in *Thuringia* and *Franconia*; and here and there little flocks were gathered, and some of them regulated according to the platform of the congregations. But since such regulations in towns and villages, in imitation of settled congregations, were abrogated at the synod at *Eberdorf*, in 1739, according to § 88; and many souls

were either oppressed in their places of abode, or desirous to be better cared for, and to enjoy more fellowship, on which account they wished to move to the congregation-places of the Brethren, the too great increase of which was not thought expedient; the Brethren had considered about providing a place for them, where they might settle, and form a congregation under the inspection of the Brethren. In this view the count of *Promnitz* bought the village *New Dietendorf*, not far from *Gotha*, which was formerly built by count *Gotter* for foreign manufacturers, but now almost deserted. The inclination of most of the Brethren was at that time, to plant congregations according to the Moravian church-constitution. Therefore, church-liberty was also solicited for in *Gotha*. But here the Brethren met with a refusal. The ordinary, who, as soon as he heard of this undertaking of the Brethren, presently saw, that it would not be practicable, being inconsistent with the constitution of church and state in the duchy of *Gotha*, wrote from *Amsterdam*, on the 6th of April, a letter to the duke, which is inserted in the *Buedingen Collection*, (Vol. III. p. 571.) in which he declared, that he could not consent to a Moravian, but would heartily concur in settling a Lutheran, Brethren's congregation in the territories of *Gotha*, after the example of *Herrnhut*; and that he would promote it, if it could be effected upon reasonable terms. In the mean while, those Brethren, who lived in that neighbourhood for the service of the dispersed Brethren and Sisters in *Thuringia*, had removed to this new place in the beginning of the year 1743. But as difficulties of importance arose, they withdrew from hence, some few excepted, who staid to take care of the estate, in May, and went to *Marienborn* and *Herrnhag*. Since this first evacuating of the place, a number of awakened people out of that district gathered there together by degrees. But they were again obliged to leave this place in 1748, until  
circum-

circumstances should alter ; which, as we shall see hereafter, came to pass.

### § 110.

IN the extensive states of his *Prussian* majesty were here and there great awakenings, which the Brethren, with others, were the means of keeping alive. The Moravian Brethren, at the time of their emigration, were, on their way through *Silesia*, become acquainted with many sincere souls. Among others, a new life had taken place among the so-called *Praying Children* of 1706, now grown up. *Silesia* abounded with descendents of the ancient Bohemian Brethren, who had retired hither over the mountains out of Bohemia and Moravia, and whom God had graciously visited. The souls concerned for their salvation, were from time to time visited in stillness by Brethren from Herrnhut. *Ernest Julius de Seidlitz*, an old acquaintance of the ordinary, took faithfully care of them, and preached the gospel to them at private meetings in his mansion-house in *Upper Peilau*, near *Reichenbach*, as he had done before at *Schoenbrunn* ; on which account he, in 1738\*, incurred a severe imprisonment, from which he was not delivered, till the Prussian troops marched into the country at the end of the year 1740. This opportunity the Brethren made use of to visit the awakened in all parts. But though, at the cession of the country to the king of Prussia, a general liberty of conscience, and privileges were granted for erecting Protestant places of worship ; yet, the Brethren being apprehensive of exposing themselves, now even more than before, to oppression and encroachments, so as formerly the ministers at *Teschen* and other places had found it by experience from their colleagues and men of their own religion ; they not only solicited for

\* At that time this country was under the house of Austria.  
(The Editor.)

ecclesiastical and religious liberty, which, as in all the king's dominions; so in particular in Silesia, was granted them on the 25th of December 1742, in such a manner, that, in spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs, they were to be subordinate to no consistory, but solely and alone to their bishops, under his majesty's supreme dominion and protection; but they also supplicated for permission, like all other Protestants, to build places of worship, which they obtained from time to time at *Groß Krausche, Burau, Peterfwalde, Roesnitz, and Upper Peilau.*

The ordinary declared to the Brethren, especially at the synod at Hirschberg, that he looked upon it as unnecessary and superfluous, to begin now to seek church-liberty in the dominions of the house of Brandenburg, since it was certain that the Brethren had at all times enjoyed the particular protection of that electoral house, and, until 1741, had the dean of the king's chapel for their bishop; the ordinary himself, after previous examination and approbation, having been consecrated a bishop, and publicly preached the gospel at Berlin. He was afraid the adversaries might turn this particular privilege to the disadvantage of the Brethren, and, on that very account, endeavour to lay them under restrictions, as a distinct constitution, yea, to cut them off entirely from the communion of the Lutheran church. It was also quite contrary to his constant way of thinking and rule of conduct, that the Brethren had accepted of this liberty, without an examination of their doctrine and constitution, and without again plainly declaring themselves adherents to the Augustan confession.

Upon this, the Brethren requested him to go himself to *Berlin*, in order to lead the affair into its proper channel with the king's ministers. On the 21st of July 1743 he arrived



arrived there, and immediately presented a memorial to the king, in which he expressed the above-mentioned and some other scruples; requested an examination of the Brethren as to their doctrine and practice, and that a stop might be put to the charges of heresy, and other impudent calumnies against the Brethren. The synod also made a representation, nearly of the same import. As to the examination, after the Royal word was once given, this was esteemed no longer necessary; and, from the recorded declarations of the Brethren for the Augustan confession, and the conferences with the king's ministers, it was again declared, *That the Brethren, as to their doctrine, avow the Augustan confession, and, therefore, so far, cannot but be looked upon as of the same faith.* The king's ministers endeavoured, by a notification to the *Corpus Evangelicorum* \* at the Diet of the Empire, to put a stop to the charges of heresy. The minister of state, *De Cocceji*, delivered his sentiments on the subject, and showed, that the Brethren had been examined in the year 1737, and found to be adherents to the Augustan confession; that their difference from other Protestants consisted only in their having a particular church-discipline, bishops, and their own synod, and providing for their Brethren, to prevent their being chargeable to others. The ordinary made some observations upon it, and went on the 8th of August to Silesia, and, towards the end of the year, to Livonia; as we shall soon see hereafter.

In the mean while, the deputies of the Brethren proceeded in their negotiations, and, in the year 1745, the ordinary came again to Berlin, to confer with the king's ministers, and then left the matter again to the deputies of the Brethren, whose negotiations, though not according to the proper wish of the ordinary, ended in the general concession, which was renewed May the 7th, 1746.

\* The *Corpus Evangelicorum* are the representatives of the Protestant states at the diet at *Ratisbon*. (The Editor.)

## § III.

As to the requested places of worship, no more than three of them, which the king had allowed by special grants, were completed. That at *Groß Krausche*, near Bunzlau, was the first, granted January the 5th, 1743. That at *Upper Peilau*, not far from Reichenbach, was the second, granted on the 27th of July the same year. Near these places of worship, some Brethren out of those parts, together with other colonists out of distant congregations and countries, settled, and were regulated as proper congregations of the church-constitution of the Moravian Brethren; to which also the Brethren out of the circumjacent parts were joined. The former congregation-place was called *Gnadenberg*, and the latter, *Gnadenfrey*. As the king particularly desired a settlement near *Newsalz* on the *Oder*; so a place of worship was likewise built there, and a colony of foreign Brethren established, for which a special grant was obtained on the 10th of June, 1743. In pursuance of the king's order, one of the bishops of the Brethren was to reside in Silesia. *Polycarp Mueller* was appointed for this purpose, who took part of the *Seminary* and *Pædagogium* (academy) along with him thither. He lived with them at first in the mansion-house in *Lower Peilau*, and then at *Urschkau*, not far from *Newsalz*, till the building of this colony was finished; and augmented the *pædagogium* with the children of some noblemen, and other young people of this and the adjacent countries. After his death, in the year 1747, the *pædagogium* removed to *Newsalz*, and was transplanted again from thence to the mansion house in *Lower Peilau*. His successor, bishop *John George Waiblinger*, lived at *Gnadenberg*.

Many difficulties were raised against the grant of a place of worship at *Peterstalde*, by count *Promnitz* of Sorau, who intended to build there a Lutheran place of worship. The ordinary

ordinary being unwilling to set up altar against altar, and the Brethren there living near Gnadensfrey; the synod itself requested of the king to suspend this grant for the present, which was also done.

The Brethren at *Roesnitz* in Upper Silesia, to whom also some Bohemian refugees and other Brethren in those parts were joined, had likewise obtained a grant, dated July the 25th, 1743, for a place of worship; in consequence of which, they got a minister of the Brethren's congregation. But this minister being oppressed by the other inhabitants, they obtained from the king a particular assurance of their liberty. But so many difficulties were made by the other inhabitants, that the building of this place of worship did not take place. Upon this, the Brethren from Moravia, who had again begun to emigrate in great numbers, resorted, some to Gnadensfrey, some to other countries; and the prospect of a colony of foreign Protestants vanished entirely.

The case was the same with an intended colony at *Montmirail* in the principality of *Neuchâtel*. Some Brethren in the German and French cantons of Switzerland, especially in *Geneva*, wished to settle there. They had been informed, that many Waldenses of the valleys of Piedmont, as also Reformed of France, would join them\*. They, seeking to profit by the church-liberty which the king had granted the Brethren in all his dominions, sent their deputies to Berlin in 1742, and obtained the Royal consent, and a mandate to the governor.

Upon this Royal grant, they began to build in *Montmirail*. But the classis of *Neuchâtel* making objections to it, they were obliged to desist. Some of them removed

\* One of the deputies, after a fruitless attempt in 1744, made the next year a visit in the valleys of the Waldenses, by way of *Genoa*, *Turin*, and *Susa*, and returned in great danger over the mountains covered with snow, without being discovered by the watch, through *France* to *Switzerland*.

to *Herrnhag*, and, since 1750, from thence to *New Wied*, and the hopes of a colony of Waldenses failed.

The Brethren at *Stettin*, and in that country, (*Prussian Pomerania*) were willing to put such a construction upon the church-liberty, that they were entitled by it, as Moravian Brethren to have their separate religious worship. They had, even without their seeking, obtained leave for it. For, being accused of having private meetings, which were in general prohibited, an answer followed from Berlin, that the Moravian Brethren could not be hindered from meeting together in an house, as long as they had no church. Upon their repeated request, though contrary to the mind of the ordinary and of many Brethren, a congregation-regulation was made among them in 1744, and *John Adam Schmidt*, who had before been in office, as a Lutheran minister, was given them as their minister. They obtained, in the year 1744, according to their desire, a certificate from the congregation of the Brethren, that they should be looked upon as members of the Moravian church, until their real state should be more particularly examined into, and known: upon which they received a Royal confirmation of the free exercise of their religion, until farther orders. Yea, the king's school-house in the *Lastadie*, which formerly belonged to the Rev. Mr. *Schinmayer*, was sold to them by the consistory for a place of worship. But so many disturbances arose on this account, that, in 1746, the place of worship was shut up. At length, they were persuaded by the Brethren to sell this house again, to meet in stillness, and by degrees (though it cost much trouble for some years) to return to the Lutheran church and constitution.

### § 112.

AT the ordinary's first coming to Berlin in 1743, in order to confer with the king's ministers concerning the Silesian church-affair, his aim was, to maintain the Brethren in  
Silesia,

Silesia, conformably to the *Opinion of Tübingen*, in connexion with the Lutheran church-constitution: and, in some measure, to make the Brethren's congregations in Silesia again subordinate to the consistories, from which, as has been said above, they were exempted, and left to their own bishops. His intention, indeed, was, that they should retain their own regulation and church-discipline, and the right to call their own ministers; but these should present themselves to the Lutheran consistory for examination, subscribe the *Augustan* confession, and be under the direction of the consistory. He, first of all, conferred with a certain great minister on this head, with whom he deliberated upon the whole affair of the Brethren in Silesia: but he advised him against it, for several important reasons. Notwithstanding this, he kept to his purpose, and, after his return, in the year 1744, from Livonia to Silesia, sent, at different times, a deputy to the inspectors \* *Burg* at *Breslau*, and *Minor* at *Landshut*, who conferred with them upon the affair, and received some hopes, that the regulation, so as he desired it, would take effect. The ordinary then entered into a correspondence with the former, and laid a plan of this affair before the synod at *Marienborn* in 1744. The Brethren, indeed, showed no inclination for it, because both the continuing controversial writings, and the opinion of the aforesaid minister of state, promised them no great benefit from it; and those Brethren who were natives of Moravia, were of opinion, that their Brethren in Silesia, as descendents of Bohemian refugees, belonged to their church-inspection. But yet they submitted to a negotiation with the Silesian divines, in order to avoid the appearance of a schism. But since these divines laid Dr. *Baumgarten's* *Opinion* about the question, "Whether the Brethren

\* An ecclesiastical inspector in the Lutheran church is a clergyman, under whose inspection are all the clergy of a certain district, and is as much as a diocesan. (The Editor.)

“ought to be reckoned to the *Lutheran* church?” which he answers in the negative \*, as the foundation, and therefore required so much of the Brethren in Silesia, that they had no other way left for an union, but to consider the church of the Brethren as erroneous, and to renounce all communion with the same; the ordinary was obliged, to his grief, to lay aside his well-meant and salutary design; to let every thing remain agreeable to the general Royal grant once obtained, and to look upon, and treat, the congregations in Silesia, as congregations of the Moravian Brethren.

### § 113.

THE ordinary found likewise at Berlin business to transact in the affairs of the *Bohemian Brethren*. He had, till now, interfered very little, or not at all, in it, being deterred from it by the disturbances of the Bohemians in Saxony in 1732, (§ 38 40.) and by the errors in which he found them entangled in 1738 at Berlin. The *Bohemians* of *Gerlachsheim* were also, most of them, departed from their good orders, described § 44, and thus some were fallen asleep, which was occasioned partly by these disturbances and errors; partly by separating, some of them settling in *Rueksdorf*, while others lived scattered at Berlin among the rest of the Bohemians; partly by the cares of this life. Yet still some of

\* This *Opinion* was occasioned by a clergyman of Westphalia, who wanted to render another clergyman suspected, who had received a student from the Brethren, as tutor, and assistant in preaching. Though the Brethren would not answer to all that was written against them, yet they could not leave this writing unanswered, it being so directly contrary to the well-known *Opinion* of the theological faculty of *Tuebingen*, of 1732. (§ 47) They showed the groundlessness of it in *Stiefried's Consideration of Dr. Baumgarten's Opinion*, and proved clearly and incontestably, that the congregations of the Brethren maintain the same doctrine with other true adherents to the Augustan constitution, and ought not to be excluded by them on account of a different church-discipline and usages.

them

them never failed to visit at *Herrnhut*, time after time, and were also visited and encouraged by Brethren passing that way. About the year 1740 a new emotion arose among the Bohemians at *Dresden*, *Zittau*, *Gebhardsdorf*, and in other places. They came frequently to *Herrnhut* on visits, and conversed with the Brethren concerning more connexion both with each other and the congregation of the Brethren. Some of them, in 1741, sought out their countrymen at *Berlin*. "They showed them \* the insufficiency of mere religious exercises, the danger of an attachment to men, and the sectarianism and schism springing from it, and the like; directing them to the chief point, the remission of sins through faith in Jesus, and the sanctification and preservation of soul and body, flowing from his merits, &c.— This was the matter, which found place in us; it being the same as Mr. *Schulz* had continually preached to us. Only it became to us a customary thing, and consisted as to the greatest part, more in knowledge, than in experience," &c.

The Bohemian Brethren were greatly enlivened by this visit of their countrymen, and at the same time took occasion to restore the regulations for the edification of their souls, which, till now, had been interrupted. But capable persons were wanting, to rule over them with grace and wisdom; as their subsequent minister *Zacharias Gelinek*, or *Hirschel*, writes in his *Historical Account*. This gave rise to various divisions, nor did *Schulz* himself see any possibility of uniting them. They, therefore, determined to request the advice and assistance of the congregation at *Herrnhut*, with whom they formerly had been in connexion at *Gerlachshausen*, and dispatched two Brethren, *George Pakosta* and *Nicholas Felix*, with a petition to them.

\* So it is said in the *Declaration* of the members of the court of justice at *Ruckfaarf*, mentioned in § 45; with which agrees the *Account* given in the *Life* of their minister *Augustin Schulz*.

These found deputies there from the rest of the Bohemians in Saxony, who requested the congregation to receive them and their Brethren into their fellowship, and either to supply them with labourers in their places of abode, or to give them leave to move to Herrnhut. But neither the one nor the other could or durst be done in the situation of things at that time. However, as they asked advice, in pursuance of a right they claimed to the Unity of the Brethren, as descendents of the Bohemian Brethren, they were directed to the conference of the bishops of the Moravian Brethren at *Marienborn*. In consequence of this, they joined in dispatching thither three deputies, *Thomas* and *Neumann* from *Zittau*, and *Peschina* from *Dresden*. These arrived at *Herrnhag*, on the 17th of March 1742, with the remarkable word of the day, *They shall be my people, and I will be their God, in truth and in righteousness.* Zech. viii. 8. Here they declared their desire, and, to the joy of all their Brethren, received for answer, that, as soon as it was practicable, some labourers should be sent to the Brethren at *Berlin* and *Rueksdorf*, as assistants of their minister. But those in the Saxon territories, who were desirous of living in a congregation of the Brethren, were advised to accept of an offer of *Sigismund Augustus de Gersdorf*, to settle a particular colony upon his estate *Trebus*, in the district of *Goerlitz*; that thus, without molestation and restriction, they might enjoy the care of the Brethren. August the 8th 1742, this place, which was called *Niesky*, was begun to be built. The daily word was again remarkable: *The Lord did not set his love upon you, nor choose you, because ye were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of all people but because the Lord loved you.* Deut. vii. 78. with the collect,

- “ But since his kind paternal eyes delight  
 “ To keep the *lowly*\* in their gracious sight:  
 “ We to his care have a most special right.”

}

\* The Bohemian Word *Nizky* signifies *Lowly*.



## § 114

WITH respect to the *Bohemian Brethren* at Berlin and *Rueksdorf* in particular, no labourers were at first found for them; and *Zacharias Hirschel*, a native of Bohemia, declined the call for the present, being intent upon going among the *Calmucs*; as we shall see hereafter. But the Bohemians continued their request for labourers, until the synod in the year 1744, when *Nicholas Andrew Jäschke*, from *Moravia*, accepted a call to them. He came to Berlin on the 6th of October, and was so successful as to unite the several parties among them, and to reconcile those that had been at variance with their minister *Schulz*, unto him. With respect to their regulations, which they had partly brought with them from *Gerlachshiem* and maintained hitherto, and partly renewed since 1741; he made no considerable alterations. They made use of the public ministry of the Rev. Mr. *Schulz*, and continued, with his approbation, and under his direction, their private meetings and bands, and *Jäschke* gave him a due account of the state of the souls.

When the ordinary in 1745 came the second time to Berlin, on account of the *Silesian* affair, both the minister and the labourers of the *Bohemian Brethren* conferred with him concerning a closer union with the church of the *Brethren*, and participation of their church-privileges. But, not being sufficiently informed of their origin, nor enough distinguishing them from the other Bohemians, he was still scrupulous (according to his own expression, in his *Natural Reflections*, p. 273,) to consider them as a part of the *Unity*, properly belonging to the church of the *Brethren*; and to commit them to the inspection of the bishops. He rather advised them to adhere to the *Lutheran* constitution, and to the ministry of the Rev. Mr. *Schulz*, which had been so greatly blessed to them, and after his death to look out for another *Lutheran* minister, in whom they could place confidence.

dence. However, he approved of it, that such as could be acknowledged worthy communicants, might go together, on a day, when there was no other communion, to the Lord's supper in the hospital-church of St. Gertrude, to which the Rev. Mr. Schulz had been called some years ago. The Brethren from among the Germans showed a desire to receive the holy communion at the same time with the Bohemian Brethren. Schulz was scrupulous about it, and made enquiry of the king, "Whether he might receive the Moravian Brethren, who offered to communicate with him?" May the 14th 1746 he received this answer, 'That he might, without scruple, receive such as were come from other countries; but as to the natives, who were hitherto joined to other churches, they must produce the usual certificate of their dismissal from their former parish-minister.' Thus, from Michaelmas 1746, he administered the Lord's supper in the church of St. Gertrude to the Bohemian and German Brethren, and continued so to do without interruption to his end, when another regulation was agreed upon.

### § 115.

THE ordinary having, in the year 1743, at Berlin, brought the church-affair of the Brethren in Silesia into a proper channel, and an order being given to the chief departments of the government by a Royal rescript, to further the execution of it; he went to Silesia, and took his residence at *Burau*, a place belonging to count *Promnitz*, mentioned § 107. This nobleman intended to establish a Brethren's congregation there. He set apart the hall of his mansion-house for a place of worship, which he called *Gnadek*, and made a beginning of building some houses for colonists, whom he was to receive from the Brethren's congregations, not settled in Saxony. But departing this life on the 2d of February 1744, and various difficulties arising afterwards concerning the colony, it was put a stop to, and at last quite dropped.

Here

Here the ordinary was visited by many Brethren from Herrnhut, with whom he conferred about the welfare of that congregation. He then, taking a journey through Silesia, viewed the district of *Musatz*, where the king wished to have a colony of the Brethren; went from thence to *Gross Krausche* and *Peilau*, and farther to *Upper Silesia*, in order to inform himself of the circumstances there, especially concerning *Räsnitz*.

After this visit in Silesia, he set out, in November 1743, on his journey to *Livonia*: upon which, at *Breslaw*, on the 21st of November, a solemn *Vocation* was given him by the Brethren, to be the *Servant of the Protestant Moravian Church*, invested with full power.

The state of the case was this. The ordinary had, even before his return from America, in writing, and afterwards frequently by word of mouth, made his objections to several undertakings of the Brethren, which made a great show; and had sometimes declared, that he would rather chuse to be released from his office and ministry in the church of the Brethren, than suffer things to be done, which he could not approve of. This, the Brethren neither could nor would comply with. Though they could not see that, in his absence, any thing had been done in the church of the Brethren, as to essentials, which was repugnant to their fundamental plan; yet they acknowledged that, in some particulars, they had erred in the way and method. They, therefore, desired him to take the affairs in his hand anew, and conduct them into the right channel. This he acquiesced in, as we have seen hitherto. But as he still continued to speak of laying down his office and ministry, the labourers of the church of the Brethren then present in Silesia, being desirous of preventing it, offered a new commission to him, in regard of the affairs of the Brethren's church, which, as he himself declared, chiefly consisted in this, that, without his knowledge, no negotiation should be carried on with those out of their circle, in the name of the church of the Brethren, nor

any thing altered in the inward constitution of the congregation.

But he did not signify his acceptance of this full power, till after his return from Livonia, in the autumn of the year following, having declared his mind in an ample deduction sent to the bishops, elders, and ministers of the church of the Brethren, concerning the late and present proceedings of the Unity, and made his remarks upon several things. To this he received an extensive answer. These two writings, which are inserted in *The present Form of the Cross's Kingdom of Jesus*, (p. 217 to 232, and p. 241 to 248,) afford the best illustration both of the inward state of the Brethren's congregations at that time, and of their outward situation.

### § 116.

As to *Livonia*\*, whither the ordinary went in November, the great and blessed work of God in the *Lettonian* and *Esthonian*

\* *Livonia* is a province under the Russian empire, and contains two nations, who speak two different languages. Though the established religion in Russia is the Greek, yet the Lutheran is not only tolerated, but is the established religion in Livonia. When this country, i. e. Lettonia and Esthonia, was conquered from the king of Sweden, and ceded by him to Russia, several civil and ecclesiastical privileges were granted to the gentry and citizens established there, these are chiefly of German or Swedish extraction. The natives are in a state of vassalage, not much short of positive slavery, and are not allowed, in any wise, the privileges of citizens. The original Lettonians, though despised by, and in subjection to, the German and Swedish lords and citizens, yet look upon the Esthonians with great contempt, and will not associate or intermingle with them. Both these nations were Heathens, and though many of them had been baptized, partly by persuasion, and partly by force, and were called Christians, yet some remained Heathens to all intents, and others retained their heathenish customs, and yet attended the Christian ordinances: an instance of which is mentioned in this section. Their gross ignorance, blind superstition, and abject state as slaves, rendered them objects of pity; and as ignorance is always a companion, if not the

nian nations since 1741, ~~was~~, by exceeding the proper bounds, fallen into great danger. I will briefly recapitulate so much of the affair from the beginning, as I have found in the reports which were required of some deans and ministers, and delivered to the upper consistory. Lady *Hallart*, according to \$70, had in the year 1736 applied for, and obtained in 1737, some catechists for her school-institution at *Wolmarshof*. Hence arose a great awakening among the *Lettonians*. The tutors, whom the nobility and clergy had applied for, to instruct the children and assist in preaching, and other domesticities procured from the congregations of the Brethren, found an opportunity to lend the ministers in their extensive parishes an helping hand in the work among the *Esthonians* and *Lettonians*. These nations were at that time still involved, in a great measure, in blind superstition and gross idolatry; insomuch that one of these ministers, the Rev. *John Christian Quandt*, at *Urbs*, destroyed, in his parish alone, about eighty groves and places for sacrificing. My design and proposed brevity do not allow me to give a more circumstantial account of the blessing caused by the Brethren, under the direction of the ministers, in many thousand souls. The school-institution at *Wolmarshof* was soon found to be too confined, especially after it had been twice examined with high approbation by the general ecclesiastical commission, and the ministers and lords of other parishes had been advised in like manner to send persons thither to be prepared for school-masters. Lady *Hallart*, therefore, found herself in 1740 under a necessity, the school being again too small, after having once been enlarged, to erect a much

the mother of superstition, they were to be commiserated. But their being slaves to sin, and to sins of the most abominable and unnatural kinds, rendered their case most deplorable, and this their unhappy condition was the motive to the endeavours of the Brethren, the ordinary and the pious ministers in *Livonia*, to deliver them from their wretched spiritual and moral slavery, and lead them to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. Blessed be God, their labour has not been in vain. (The Editor.)

greater building for this institution, which was called, *Lammberg*.

Among the *Esthonians* there was likewise a great awakening, which was carried on with blessing by the deans and ministers, with the assistance of some private tutors, and other capable domestics, sent to them and to the lords of manors from the Brethren's congregation; and freed from the fanaticism which had crept in at first. Some colleagues whom the pastor primarius *Mickwitz* had desired and obtained from the Brethren's congregation, laboured at the collegiate-school at *Reval*, and assisted him and the rest of the ministers in preaching, and in the private care of souls. So far every thing proceeded here in good order. But, in the year 1741, this zealous and truly blessed minister was misled by a certain Brother, who was inclined to extravagances, and acted herein quite contrary to his instruction, and to the mind of other Brethren, to settle a particular congregation according to his insight, and, as he called it, upon the plan of the apostles. Having, besides, a great relish for the proposals made in *Dr. Buddeus's Preface to the Church-History of Comenius*, for the introduction of a better church-discipline; many things of the Bohemian Brethren's constitution and church-discipline were mimicked in this regulation. He extolled on all occasions, even at the synods, the present Moravian church-constitution; introduced the Brethren, who were not intended to be Lutheran ministers, but their assistants only, yea such as were no students, into the synods, and caused them to preach even on the most distinguished occasions. Many Lutheran ministers, who were struck by the truth of the gospel, as by a sudden flash of lightning, but knew not what they did, were, in order to please him, received into the newly regulated congregation, and endeavoured to establish such congregations also in their parishes. Part of the Brethren, notwithstanding all the warning given them by other Brethren, were also drawn into these disorders, and contributed towards them. This made

made a great noise, and, together with the controversial writings added to it from Germany, gave rise to many disturbances, and even to a dangerous uproar at Reval. Nothing else could be expected but an enquiry and the resentment of the magistrates. Many ministers drew back for fear; some even endeavoured to clear themselves of all blame, by accusing the Brethren, who, ignorant of the constitution of the country, were in the beginning misled by them.

§ 117.

THE ordinary, even before his going to America, had thought proper that his lady should go to the court of the then regent *Anna* at *St. Petersburg*, by way of *Copenhagen*, where she did many good services for the benefit of the heathen-missions in the Danish dominions. But in the meanwhile, as the well-known revolution happened in the Russian empire, she staid with her old friend, lady *Hallart*, and other acquaintances in *Livonia*. This gave occasion to her being charged with having a share in those disorders. Notwithstanding this, she proceeded, about the end of January 1743, on her journey to *Petersburg*, where she gave to several persons of rank at the Imperial court a true idea of the church of the Brethren in general, and of the work of God in *Livonia* in particular. She would likewise have been glad to have done this to her Imperial majesty herself. But as she could not conveniently obtain her purpose, and in the mean time received intelligence of the return of her consort; she went back to him. He, on his part, was determined to do his utmost, to have a disorder he had no hand in, and which he highly disapproved of, enquired into and rooted out, and to prevent the mischief to be apprehended from it. For this end, he resolved to offer himself for examination, both in *Livonia*, where a commission from the Supreme government was now sitting, and at *Petersburg*; but found proper to send before him *Arvid Gradin*, who, in the year

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1739, had been deputed to the patriarch of Constantinople, (§ 90.) with a writing to the synod which represents the Russian church. But the deputy was scarcely arrived at Petersburg, when he was impeached as an emissary by a Lutheran minister, and immediately put in prison, in which then three Brethren were confined, who had attempted to obtain passports to the neighbouring Heathen. He was obliged to submit to this confinement, under many vicissitudes, till the year 1747, when he and the three aforesaid Brethren were dismissed, and returned to Germany, as we shall see in its place. However, the writing, which had been taken from him on his being arrested, passed through almost every department, and the Imperial cabinet itself, into the hands of the synod; and, without any farther step of his in the affair, had indeed not the desired effect, viz. an impartial examination of the ordinary and the church of the Brethren concerning the share they had in the Livonian commotions; but yet did more good service to the church of the Brethren in general, and their cause in Livonia, than could have been expected in the circumstances at that time.

### § 118.

THE ordinary, who had received intelligence of the arrest of the deputy, and could neither know what the result of it might be, nor what awaited himself, nevertheless proceeded on his journey to *Russia*; several writings having been dispatched, both by him and the synod, to the Livonian states, and the different departments of government, to the Imperial commission, and to the vice-chancellor of the empire; in order, previously, to put them on all sides in a capacity of completing the examination so much the more solidly and without delay. But at *Riga*, under the pretence that no person of rank was permitted to travel to Petersburg, without leave from the empress, he was detained in the citadel from the 24th of December 1743 to the 12th of January 1744.

It



It was, however, not to be considered as an arrest, and, accordingly, he was treated with great civility; which made the ordinary believe, it was thus contrived, from a true regard for his person, by the governor general *Lascy*, whose inclination for, and good testimonies of, the work of God in Livonia were not known till afterwards. Upon the order from the empress for his return being made known to the ordinary, he desired leave to wait three days longer, to see if any of his accusers had any thing to alledge against him. But none appearing, he entered upon his return. The writings, which were taken from him, were, with a very pressing address to the empress for a solid examination and final abolition of the affair, delivered into the Imperial cabinet; and, together with the aforesaid writing to the synod of the Russian church, and the acts of the commission in Livonia, as also the good testimonies given by several Livonians of rank of the Brethren, and of their own vassals, had the good effect, to prevent the sentence, which the enemies urged with all their might, of an entire proscription of the Brethren, and to avert any essential obstacle laid in the way of the work of the Lord. Even those deans and ministers, who, having acknowledged and confessed their mistakes, were not ashamed of the Brethren and their sufferings, received no injury in their functions, honours, and estates.

§ 119.

AT his return to *Silesia*, the ordinary again staid a few months at *Gnadek*, where his family, and, by degrees, the labourers from *Herrnhut*, and some from other places, came to him, in order to confer with him about their concerns. He likewise took the Silesian affair anew into his hands, especially the building and settlement of the colony at *New-satz*. On the festival of the incarnation of Jesus, March the 25th 1744, he made in stillness a visit to *Herrnhut*, rejoiced the congregation and the choirs with blessed discourses upon

upon the festival subject, and introduced his son *Christian Rematus*, by prayer and imposition of hands, to the office of co-elder of the single Brethren. On the 22d of April following, he visited once more in Herrnhut, and received the holy communion with the congregation in the church at Bertholdsdorf, at which he made the general confession in the name of the congregation. The minister at that time, *Paul Groh*, had been presented to the living in 1743, in the place of the Rev. Mr. *Schilling*, who, since the departure of the Rev. Mr. *Mukke*, in 1739, had served this congregation, and had now accepted a vocation to Vogtland.

The ordinary was not pleased that some people lived at Herrnhut, who, in his judgment, did not suit a congregation of the Brethren, nor the particular discipline and order of it; but, especially with respect to their children, were, or might be, of hurt and detriment to the other inhabitants. He, therefore, caused an examination to be made; in consequence of which, such persons were desired to remove to some other place. Most of them moved to Bertholdsdorf, and there enjoyed the care of the Brethren, which proved a greater blessing to many there than in Herrnhut.

## § 120.

THE last hours of a Brother of the Polish branch of the Unity, *John Nitsche*, who, at the end of 1743, departed this life at Herrnhut with uncommon joyfulness, incessantly addressing himself to the holy wounds of Jesus, had proved a great edification to many, encouraging them, in all circumstances, to look with particular devotion to the blood and wounds of Jesus. The ordinary, from a collection of the aspirations of the late Brother, compiled a *Litany concerning the Wounds of Jesus*. Upon this hymn he afterwards, in 1747, delivered some homilies, which differ from the rest of his discourses; for, though they, indeed, discover an heart

heart deeply penetrated with the love of Jesus and his wounds, yet they contain many expressions, which not only gave new occasion to the adversaries for charges of heresy, but even misled some Brethren to deviate, in some measure, though not from the only foundation of doctrine, yet from the simple and plain Bible-language, which otherwise had been constantly and blessedly in use in the congregations of the Brethren.

In the years 1743 and 1744, the ordinary composed particular *Liturgies* to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as also hymns concerning both the church militant and triumphant, which were received by the congregation with great ardor, and prayed and sung with a true melting of heart. This proved the occasion, that, from this time, the doctrine of the Father and the Holy Ghost became, more than hitherto, the subject of the discourses and writings of the Brethren. But the objection which had been, until now, incessantly made to the method of teaching in the congregations of the Brethren, that our Saviour and his merits were too much, and the Father and the Holy Ghost, too little spoken of, misled some Brethren to hazard too bold expressions concerning the mystery of the holy Trinity and the internal relation between the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This, indeed, did not cause them to turn from the person of Jesus, and the redemption in his blood. They, rather, continually urged this matter, and especially the merits of his holy incarnation, life, passion, and death, for our reconciliation, and the sanctification of the human soul and body in all the circumstances of life, as our comfort and example. But yet they used at times such expressions, as, in part, were not clear and determinate enough, and in part overstrained; which proved offensive to many divines both in and out of the congregations; especially when malicious and sensual men, such as the epistle of Jude describes and foretels, (ver. 19.) with a view to be revenged for their unsuccessful attempts against the other congregations of the Brethren.

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were not ashamed to spue out the venom, lying in their own hearts, upon such expressions, to explain and pervert them according to their own carnal conceptions, and thus to render the Brethren ridiculous and odious to the enemies of the Christian religion; and, with them, the truths grounded in holy writ and deduced from thence, “concerning the  
“preservation of the human soul and members, and the sanctified use of them in all the circumstances of human life.” This, indeed, did the Brethren no great harm, and proved a means of keeping many persons from their congregations, at a time when numbers were resorting to them from all parts. But yet, they have often, with pain, lamented their having given occasion to such calumnies by their want of circumspection.

#### § 121.

FROM Silesia, the ordinary, in the beginning of the summer 1744, returned to *Wetteravia*, and took his residence at *Marienborn*, from whence the seminary and pædagogum removed to *Lindheim*, to make room for him and his family. Thither a number of labourers resorted to him, who wished to rest a while from their labour upon their posts, and to enjoy the nursing care of the congregation. These formed a fine house-congregation there, or, as it was afterwards termed, a *Congregation and Pilgrim House*, to which several young Brethren and Sisters were admitted, in order to be prepared for the service of God among Christians and Heathens. This household, therefore, proved at the same time a seminary, from whence, in this and the following years, many blessed labourers went forth into all the four quarters of the world. Here also a small family-printing-office was set on foot, with an intention to print, in small quantities, some pieces, which were either not at all designed for the public, or not until they were properly examined and amended, and to distribute them solely among the labourers,

bourers, both for their own private use, and for their revival. But yet, it could not be entirely prevented, that more members of the congregation, also friends, and even enemies, of their's, got them into their hands, and the last often sooner than the Brethren themselves. Incomplete and defective as they were, for the sake of gain, they were reprinted and dispersed in the world, misunderstood and perverted to the utmost by their adversaries, and used as supposed proofs of erroneous doctrines of, and other charges against, the Brethren.

§ 122.

FROM the 12th of May to the 15th of June, 1744, a synod was held at Marienborn. Among other things, one principal object was, to set in a clear and distinct light the *Tropi Pædias* \*, or, the different ways and methods, in which the members of the Brethren's congregations, who were come together out of various countries and religions, differently conceive and express the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, in which they all do, and must agree. The ordinary was, from the beginning, of opinion, that it would be well, if the congregations of the Brethren formed no particular constitution, but were merely societies in the religion of the Protestant countries in which they dwell, and in communion with, yea, if possible, under the direction of it. But the Moravian Brethren had again obtained their ancient church-privileges, and had, in his absence, formed particular congregations in several places. (§ 63, and 110 to 112.) He was, indeed, willing to preserve to them these rights, together with the episcopal ordination; but he endeavoured, at the same time, to prevent them from

\* This matter has been very clearly treated of in *A concise historical Account of the present Constitution of the Unitas Fratrum*, (published in German in 1772, and in English in 1775,) Part II. § 2 to 10. (The Editor.)

swallowing up in their church-constitution the Lutheran and Reformed, who moved to the congregation-places, or, in their own places of abode, continued in connexion with them; which, in the end, might prove their own ruin, on account of the too great confluence of people. It is true, he could not oppose it, that people, coming out of erroneous religions, after forsaking their errors, joined themselves to the Moravian church-constitution, rather than run from one religion to another. But he intended to hinder the commixture of religions, both in and out of the congregation-places, and the transiſion out of one religion into another, together with the ſectariſm, and condemning the oppoſite party, conſequent upon it: and to preſerve every one in that branch of the Proteſtant religion, in which he had been educated: to the end that, in caſe any one, or his children, ſhould happen again to leave the congregation of the Brethren, his return to the religion, in which he was educated, might remain open to him, without being forced to a recantation, contrary to his conſcience. He was, therefore, very deſirous to have each of theſe different modes of education, the Moravian, the Lutheran, and the Reformed, properly diſtinguiſhed; although theſe different ſorts of Brethren, in eſſentials, avow one and the ſame doctrine, agreeable to the holy ſcriptures and the Auguſtan confeſſion; and differ only in the way of thinking, and of expreſſing themſelves. Each of theſe diviſions, or tropuſes, was to be provided with their own biſhops and elders. To this end, his eldeſt aſſiſtant, *Frederic*, baron *de Watteville*, a native of Switzerland, who, in the year 1743, was choſen and conſecrated a biſhop of the church of the Brethren, at *Bunau* in Sileſia, was intended to be the biſhop, or ſenior, of the Reformed Brethren. And now, an attempt was made to ſupply the Lutheran Tropuſ alſo with a biſhop. The choice fell upon the Rev. *George John Conradi*, ſuperintendent general of Sileſwic-Holſtein, an old friend of the Brethren,

thren; who had supported the colony in Holstein from the beginning to the end. His vocation, together with the instruction, were sent him, June the 4th, 1744. But he found himself obliged, on account of his age, to decline it; which he did in a very friendly letter. Thus, this matter was postponed until farther consideration.

§ 123.

A NUMBER of controversial writings, swarming in the world about this time, were the reason that, in 1745, a deputation from the seminary at *Lindheim* was dispatched to the theological faculty at *Tuebingen*, with an earnest request for an examination, whether, and in how far, the church of the Brethren had undergone any alteration, since the Opinion of the faculty of *Tuebingen* in 1733, which could be a just cause, as the adversaries pretended, why that Opinion was no more applicable to the congregations of the Brethren. The deputies, *John Frederic Cammerhof* and *Paul Eugene Layritz*, were received and treated with much regard and friendship, and one of them preached in several churches, and especially in the hospital-church before the divines of the university, to their great satisfaction. They declined a new examination in a civil *Letter to the theological Seminary of the Augustan Confession*: but, “ to prevent all difficulties  
“ and farther controversies, they judged it most advisable to  
“ draw up a *public Instrument*, in the name of all the con-  
“ gregations of the Brethren, avowing their adherence to  
“ the unaltered Confession of Augsburg, properly signed by  
“ the bishops and elders of the congregations; and to present  
“ it to the illustrious *Corpus Evangelicorum* itself; and,  
“ without engaging any farther in controversial writings,  
“ quietly to carry on the work of the Lord \* ”

This

\* It is true, that, soon after, an unkind Opinion of a certain divine of *Wuertemberg* appeared in print, which condemned without

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This good advice was accepted, and immediately, at the synod of this year, begun, as much as possible for that time, to be put in execution, and completed in the ensuing years.

A proposal was also made to both the Saxon divines, Dr. Marperger and Dr. Loescher, to obtain from the privy-council at Dresden an examination of the undertakings of the ordinary in the Protestant church, since his exile from Saxony. But this was also declined, with this declaration, that no approbations could protect a servant of Christ from persecutions.

However, the multitude of controversial writings rendered it necessary to publish an *Apology*. This was done in a writing, under the title of, *The present Form of the Cross's Kingdom of Jesus in its Purity, &c.* This piece contains several positions and truths, opposed to the almost numberless untruths, and proved with eighty documents. It was, indeed, not sufficient to pacify such as were inclined to be contentious; but yet, it conduced to instil a different way of thinking into many candid adversaries and impartial spectators, and to induce them to leave to the Lord what they could not comprehend. This writing was, in particular, attended with great advantage with respect to some ministers of state of the king of Prussia, with whom the deputies of the Brethren were in treaty about the affairs of the Moravian church; and who, as they declared to the ordinary during his abode at Berlin in autumn 1745, had been so perplexed by the horrible calumnies, that they were at a loss how to act in the affair: and hence it was, that sometimes favourable, sometimes adverse, measures were taken, according to the information the boards received.

without an examination, which had just before been declined, and seems to revoke, the *Opinion* of 1733. But it was not approved by the theological faculty. On the contrary, the first *Opinion* was confirmed. See the *Apol. Declaration, Quest. III. Final Apology, App. V. p. 529. let. u. Natural Resolutions, D. 172. 2.*

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This was the last time that the ordinary was at Berlin. The year after followed the king of Prussia's second general grant of church and other privileges mentioned § 110.

§ 124.

ABOUT this time, Germany, and Saxony in particular, was visited by a grievous war. The country about *Marienborn* was filled with English, Austrian, and French troops; and both armies could be seen from an eminence encamped opposite each other. The abominable calumnies drew many dangerous and troublesome visits to the congregation at *Herrnhaag* and *Marienborn*, with a view to disturb, and share with, the reputed heretics and fanatics in the enjoyment of the vast treasures they were said to have amassed from all parts of the world. But the effect was, that the visitants were clearly convinced, not by apologies, but by ocular demonstration, of the contrary of all that which, in part, respectable persons had suggested to them against the Brethren. Hence, great displeasure was excited against such adversaries and slanderers; but such love and regard for the Brethren, that, even by this means, they were spared, or eased of, many burdens and inconveniences, the natural concomitants of war; to which also the pains taken by the sovereigns of those parts contributed greatly. The preaching in the church of the palace at *Marienborn* was, on this occasion, much frequented; and, in the year 1743, the Hanoverian soldiers would, for some time, have a sermon preached to them every day by the Brethren. Many officers, even of the Romish religion, were powerfully affected, and often declared their wishes to spend their days among such people. A certain Hungarian officer, with permission of his superiors, left a young person nearly related to him in the economy of the girls at *Herrnhaag*, as she could by no means be persuaded to leave the place.

The congregations in Silesia and in Upper Lusatia experienced no less powerful protection from above during this war. When the Prussian troops occupied almost all Saxony, the congregation at *Herrnhut* was favoured with a particular protection, and saw both the retreating and the conquering armies march through the place in a friendly manner. At last the peace, concluded December the 25th, 1745, put an end to the distress and danger in these parts.

In the Empire, where the war still continued, in July, 1745, when a synod was to be again convened at Marienborn, the country was still filled with the two opposite armies. But two days before the opening of the synod, they marched off, and permitted the Brethren and Sisters, travelling from different parts to Marienborn, to pass through them with all civility and in peace.

#### § 125.

AT this synod, among other things, the three *Tropuses* in the Unity of the Brethren were still better regulated, and soon after brought to effect, as we shall see in the ensuing year. The *Ministerial Functions* in the Brethren's congregations were revised, according to the ancient church-order of the Brethren; the distinction between *Presbyters* and *Deacons* renewed; and the acceptance of *Acoluths* introduced. *Presbyters* are the regular ministers of a congregation, and have the office of teaching, and the administration of the holy sacraments committed to them. *Deacons* are their assistants, both in the spiritual and temporal care of a congregation; but, in want, or in the absence, of the proper minister, may perform the sacred functions; and they receive a particular ordination for that purpose. *Acoluths* are those who devote themselves to the service of the Lord and of his congregation; and are accepted to it by the bishops and elders, by giving their hands upon it at a public meeting of the congregation.

congregation. *Eldereffes* and *Deaconesses* were, according to the usage of the ancient church of the Brethren, appointed and blessed for the care of the female sex. The laudable order of *Civil Seniors* and *Conseniors*, which was introduced in the year 1560 at the synod of *Xians* in Poland\*, was also restored, and the blessing of the church imparted to the Brethren chosen for the purpose, with imposition of hands.

Endeavours were used to take proper care of the youth, especially out of the congregation-places, by the appointment of persons, called, *The Children's Fathers and Mothers*. The many children of the members of the congregations in Silesia, which lived scattered in several villages, and could not enjoy proper care, had, as early as the year 1743, given occasion to this regulation. These appointed *Parents of the Children* were, besides their ordinary occupations, to visit the children in their houses, to speak affectionately to them, and to endeavour to instil into them a lovely impression of their Creator and Redeemer, which might prove a blessing to them in the future circumstances of their lives. They were likewise to be ready to advise and encourage the parents to a careful and wise treatment of their children. This regulation, indeed, met with many difficulties; but, nevertheless, where it was brought to bear, was attended with a remarkable blessing.

§ 126.

BEFORE I proceed to the following Part, I must take notice of some remarkable incidents, which properly belong to this period, but could not be so suitably introduced before.

The church-affair of the Brethren in *Silesia* had, in many places, drawn much envy and enmity upon the Brethren's congregation; and, besides giving occasion to other things, had given rise to a multitude of controversial writings which

\* See the *Ancient History of the Brethren*: § 31.

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had different effects. In places where the congregations of the Brethren were not known before, many, who considered that Jesus and his apostles were also reproached, reviled, and persecuted, became desirous of knowing the Brethren more fully. This caused many visits to the Brethren's congregations. But in many places, the awakened souls, by reason of their acquaintance with the Brethren, were oppressed, and thus induced, nay, some even compelled, to retreat to the congregation-places. By this means people came flocking more and more out of almost all the Protestant countries, both in and out of Germany. To put some stop to this, and to prevent the congregations from being clouded too much, and the religions from being deprived of many of their sincere members, (for many a pious minister made this his principal complaint;) endeavours were used, not only, to preserve the Silesian Brethren in a closer union with the Lutheran church, though in vain; (§ 112.) but it was also found necessary, at the request, partly, of the ministers and lords of manors, and partly, of the awakened souls, to send Brethren to many places, in order to take upon them the care of the awakened, to exhort them to a more faithful adherence to their religion, to withhold them from separatism, as also from an unnecessary and precipitate removing to the congregations; and, on the other hand, to bestow all possible care upon them in their places of abode, according as time and circumstances should allow. These endeavours were accompanied with great blessing in many places. In *Sweden*, many separatists were gained by this means, and many who had been prejudiced by them, were preserved in the church. Not only many ministers there made use of the advice and assistance of the Brethren among their awakened people, but even one of the bishops cultivated a correspondence with the bishops of the church of the Brethren; and many divines wished that the Brethren might lend an assistance to the mission in *Lapland*. Two Brethren, *Elias Ostergreen* and *Ulric Bæhr*,

*Behr*, made again some stay in Lapland; but found no particular ingress. In *Lithuania*, the work of God, notwithstanding all oppression, continued in blessings, under the inspection of some deans and ministers. Besides these students from the seminary of the Brethren, who assisted the ministers in these and other countries, in the capacity of domestic tutors, some preached in Lutheran pulpits, at *Erfurt*, *Mindem*, *Bergen in Norway*, *Utrecht*, *Leiden*, and the *Hague*, at *London*, &c. but some of them were again deprived of the liberty regularly granted them before, after the controversial writings had made their appearance, though no erroneous tenets could be laid to their charge. Wherever the souls under the care of the Brethren did not walk orderly, or assumed to themselves more liberties with respect to the religious constitution, than became them and was necessary, the Brethren withdrew from them, and required of them a written declaration, that they would no more call themselves Brethren; that so, all the speeches and actions of such people might not, as before had been the case, always be laid to the charge of the congregations of the Brethren, and these be judged and described according to such, so-called, *Herrnhuters* and pretended congregations.

The acquaintance with awakened souls in the religions did not decrease, but rather increase; and this was sometimes occasioned in a very singular manner. For instance; a certain eminent Reformed minister, in a distant country, where the name of the Brethren was not yet known, among other edifying books he ordered to be brought from the fair of *Leipfic*, got the ordinary's *Berlin-Discourses*. (§ 76.) These, as he was a man deeply immersed in mysticism, appeared to him too simple. He made a present of them to a plain country-clergyman, for whom they were too high. He was, therefore, desirous to explain them to him. And now he himself found the great mystery of religion, which, amidst all his mystical wisdom, he was still defective in. He was led into the doctrine of the atonement in the blood of Jesus,

returned to the simplicity of the gospel; sought for the Brethren, and made them acquainted with other ministers, who honoured him as a father, and with their awakened souls.

The Moravian Brethren tried to renew their acquaintance with the Brethren in *Poland*, as they had done before in the year 1739. They sent, in 1742, a deputy to the senior at *Lissa*. But, lest they should add new troubles and persecutions to their already distressing circumstances, they did not accept the overture. It may, probably, have proceeded from the same cause, that the awakened souls there were not allowed to have any communication with the Moravian Brethren; which was the reason that some of them chose to remove to Newfalz.

### § 127.

IN *Pennsylvania*, the congregations of the Brethren at *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth* (§ 98 and 101.) had, from time to time, been considerably augmented; and had likewise, by some Brethren from the seminary and other qualified and gifted persons, been enabled to continue to preach the gospel, and to minister unto the country-congregations gathered out of the religions and the smaller sects; as also, to carry on the missions among the Heathen. At the synod in *Marienborn*, in the year 1744, the Rev. *Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg*, who had been formerly in *Pennsylvania*, was consecrated a bishop, and full power was given him to act as vicar general of the bishops, as also to have the chief inspection of the work of God committed to the Brethren among Christians and Heathens in America. I find in the *Result of a Pennsylvanian synod*, (which synods were held every half year, sometimes in one place and sometimes in another,) members from ten nations, and seven different religious parties, besides the Heathen-messengers, and helpers from among the Indians. Among them were fourteen Lutheran ministers

ministers of the constitution of the Brethren, and deputies from fourteen Reformed congregations, which were joined to the Brethren, and ministered unto by some Reformed ministers. Besides these, many invitations to preach were given the Brethren from divers places.

The mission among the Indians in *North America* has been treated of in the beginning of this Part, § 102, 103, and 104: but, on account of the connexion, I am obliged to leave the rest to be related in the following Part.

The mission in *South America*, on the river *Surinam*, was indeed strengthened from *Bethlehem*, but met with so many difficulties, that the Brethren moved away from thence, and some of them went to the Brethren on *Rio de Berbice*. But neither could these, as they were not yet able rightly to express themselves in their language, speak of any blessing among the Indians, the good impression excepted which their life and conversation made upon them.

§ 128.

THE mission among the Negroes in *St. Thomas*, amidst all the difficulties both from without and within, proceeded with almost inconceivable blessing. It is true, by the ordinary's visitation in the year 1739, (§ 85.) they had obtained some relief; but their oppression soon began anew. Nevertheless, the Negroes could not be withheld, having done their work, from coming in the night to the preaching of the gospel, on working-days, as well as on Sundays, and joyfully suffered bonds and stripes on that account. The missionaries spent their time, by day, in hard bodily labour for their sustenance, and, by night, in spiritual labour among the Negroes, for the most part in weakness and sickness; and hardly a year passed without one or more of them ending their race; to which even the affliction of their minds, on account of the sufferings of their Negroes, and the manifold maltreatment of their own persons, may have greatly

contributed; as for instance, the many blows given to one of them threw him into a fit of sickness, and, though he recovered at that time, yet he soon after departed this life. Notwithstanding all this, the work greatly increased; ninety Negroes being all baptized on one day, the 26th of February 1741. The believing Negroes, sold or transplanted from St. Thomas to other islands, spread the awakening there too, and begged for teachers. But these could, at present, do no more than visit them in *St. Croix* and *St. Jan*, until they received more assistants from the congregations of the Brethren. Their and the Negroes supplications moved many to hasten to their assistance. Even in 1739, the student *Albinus Theodore Feder*, from *Vogtland*, offered himself for this mission. Being ordained for it, he was confirmed by a Royal rescript, with a mandate for his protection against lawless people. *Christian Gottlieb Israel*, an extraordinary instrument of God, went with him. He came from the village *Eubau*, not far from *Herrnhut*, was born of poor parents, bred a weaver, was lame withal, and mostly walked with a crutch; but had such a fervent spirit, that he would not be withheld from going and preaching the gospel to the Heathen. He and *Feder* having reached *St. Eustatia*, in passing over from thence to *St. Thomas*, the vessel stranded in a storm on the 17th of January, near *Spanish Town*. The sailors took to their boat, and left them with the vessel upon the rock. *Feder* ventured to let himself down by a rope into the sea, in order to swim on shore, which was scarcely a stone's cast from the rock, thinking thus to procure assistance for his lame Brother. But the raging billows did not suffer him to reach the land. Lame *Israel* was obliged to remain on the wreck, over which the waves were continually beating, and was saved, after the storm had ceased\*. He la-

\* We find the declaration he gave of his disposition of mind, while he was in danger of his life on the rock, in the *Danish Collection*, Vol. II. p. 756.



boured four years with great blessing, and began afresh, in the year 1740, the mission in St. Croix, which was then at a stand, where now the baptized amount to many hundreds. We find letters and diaries from him in the *Budingen-Collection*.

As, by means of the unhealthy air and hard labour in this hot climate, many Brethren, and often such ordained persons as were confirmed by the king, were taken off by death, and then difficulties were laid in the way of other Brethren, who were not by name confirmed by the king; the Brethren, therefore, in the year 1744, on sending another missionary, requested his confirmation, together with five assistants joined to him, and obtained it in a rescript of the 22d of May, and of the 28th of December 1744: and since then they have been protected in the enjoyment of their privileges \*

§ 129.

THE missionaries at *New Herrnhut* in *Greenland* had, in the year 1738, the joy to see the first-fruits, *Samuel Kajarnak* and his family, converted unto Christ; but were, presently after, painfully afflicted by his flight for fear of the murderers. So much the greater were the joy and surprise of the Brethren, when he returned in the year 1740, at the time of the visitation of *Andrew Grasmann*, and drew many Heathen after him, who by his testimony had been made attentive to the word, and by degrees became believers. The eldest missionary, *Matthew Stach*, went with *Andrew Grasmann* on a visit to Germany, and returned in the year 1742, having been ordained for his office, and confirmed by a Royal rescript, dated March the 16th 1742, as the regular minister of the Moravian Brethren in *Greenland*. In this very year the great awakening among the *Greenlanders* pro-

\* More of this may be seen in *Oldendorp's History of the Missions in the Caribbee Islands, &c.*

partly commenced, Every year more were added to the congregation, than, according to the small number and roving way of life of this nation, could have been expected. Hence, more missionaries were required. *John Soerensen* and *Christian Boernike* were joined to *John Beck* at his visit in Germany in the year 1746. It was very agreeable and highly edifying to the Heathen, that the Brethren could live with their neighbours, the Danish missionaries, in peace and brotherly unity, thus being conducive to the mutual benefit and preservation of each other's converts, without confounding their respective constitutions. (See the *History of Greenland* )

## § 130.

THE missionary *George Schmid*, after he had baptized five *Hottentots*, was returned to Europe from the *Cape of Good Hope*. (§ 79 ) He desired leave, in the year 1745, to return thither with some assistants, but could not obtain it. In the year 1746, an account was received by an officer from thence, that the baptized and catechumens still kept together, and greatly longed for his return. *John Martin Schwæbler*, who had formerly been in the service of the company there, went thither in 1747 to stay, and to take care of the forsaken *Hottentots*. But no farther account was received of him, than that he married there, and soon departed this life.

A monument was exhibited of the deserted mission in *Ceylon*, (§ 80.) by the surgeon *Christian Dober*, who, by means of the Brethren there, was, in the year 1742, brought to the knowledge of the truth. He came to the Brethren's congregation, and brought a *Malabar* along with him, who, in the year 1746, was baptized and called *Samuel Johannes*.

*Conrad Lange*, in the year 1742, set forward on his way to *China*, intending to take the Brethren *Zacharias Hirschel* and *Michael Kund* with him to the *Calmucs*. But, on soliciting for a passport at *Petersburg*, they shared the same fate as the Brethren did, who in 1738 proposed going to the  
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Samojedes and Laplanders. The disturbances in Livonia, which began at that time, exposed them to suspicion. They were put in prison, in which they continued, with greater liberty, or closer confinement, alternately, till the year 1747, when they were dismissed, and returned to Germany.

In the year 1743, a Brother of the seminary, *Otto William Haffe*, resided among the Jews at *Amsterdam*, and seemed to meet with blessing; but soon departed this life. Several baptized Jews came about this time from other places to the congregation, and afforded some hopes that a time would come, when a *Kehille*, or congregation of them, would be seen, for a blessing to their nation: but it appeared that the proper time of their visitation was not yet come.

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PART VI.

*From the Synod held at Zeist in 1746, to the Ordinary's last Journey to England in 1751.*

§ 131.

**I**N the year 1746 a Synod was held at *Zeist*, in the see of *Utrecht*. A certain friend of the Brethren at Amsterdam had last year purchased the barony of *Zeist*, with a view to the establishment of a Brethren's congregation there, since *Heerendyk* was inconvenient for the settlement of a regular congregation-place; and yet many had expressed a desire to live in a congregation of the Brethren. These built, by degrees, between the palace and the village, several houses in two squares, which give this place, beautiful in itself, a still better appearance. The States of *Utrecht* have at all times approved themselves as true fathers of their country, with respect to this place, and allowed the Brethren all reasonable liberty. The numerous visits of strangers, not only of *Holland*, but from divers nations, though attended with some

some inconvenience, yet contributed greatly to the maintenance of the inhabitants, and had chiefly this advantage, that many persons who had been prejudiced against the Brethren, obtained and took home better ideas of them, and that many persons of other countries heard the gospel perhaps the first time, with a blessing for their hearts.

Notwithstanding all the pressures which the *Pastoral Letter* of the classis of Amsterdam, written and published in the year 1738, (§ 83.) and the controversial writings and calumnies following upon it, brought upon the Brethren, the work of the Lord proceeded in silence in several parts of the United Netherlands. The greatest blessing about this time, was to be perceived among that branch of the *Mennonites*, who inclined towards the Socinian doctrine. Our Saviour in particular made use of the evangelical testimony of the Rev. Mr. *Deknatel*, to stem the prevailing torrent, preserving his hearers in the doctrine of the divinity and the merits of Christ, which was also acknowledged in public writings. Among the Reformed, God, in a remarkable manner, raised up the Rev. Mr. *Bruinings* at Amsterdam, to be a blessed witness in his religion. But he suffered much on this account, and in the year 1749 departed this life with the universal testimony of having been a servant of God, and, as some expressed it, a martyr for the truth.

§ 132.

At the synod of *Zeist*, among other distinguished persons, there were present the reigning count *Henry* the XXIX. *Reufs* of *Ebersdorf*, with his consort, and his chaplain, the Rev. *Frederic Christopher Steinhof*: the re-union of the congregation at *Ebersdorf*, with the congregations of the Brethren, so often wished for, having taken place. The ordinary had long maintained a cordial friendship with the house of *Ebersdorf*, and by his marriage was more closely united with it. At the time when the Moravian Brethren

settled at Herrnhut, the house of Ebersdorf joined itself to that congregation of the Brethren; and, in consequence of it, paid often visits to Herrnhut. In the year 1734 Steinhöfer was given to them as chaplain, and other Brethren and Sisters, for the attendance upon, and education of, their children, who, at the same time, were a blessing to the inhabitants of that place, and to many others in those parts; several of whom moved, from time to time, to Ebersdorf, and others sent their children hither for education. In this manner, a congregation was collected here, to which the former friends of the Brethren in particular joined themselves, who, since the commission at Herrnhut in the year 1736, and the renewal of the Moravian church-constitution, had, through the manifold insinuations of the adversaries, been staggered concerning the congregation of the Brethren. By degrees, a coldness and misunderstanding took place between Herrnhut and Ebersdorf. The countess of Zinzendorf, indeed, endeavoured, at a visit in the year 1742, to remove it. But this attempt was without effect; as were likewise the visits of the Brethren, after the synod held in 1743 in the castle of count Reuss at *Hinschberg*, the congregation at Ebersdorf having, a short time before, renewed their union, and made their particular regulations; which, though borrowed, in certain points, from the congregations of the Brethren, were yet to distinguish them wholly from them. Notwithstanding this, some members of this congregation, especially such as were come from Herrnhut in the first times, or had visited there, and brought home with them a blessing for their hearts, could not be satisfied with this estrangement, and the want of several blessed regulations; which they signified to their labourers upon many occasions. This induced Steinhöfer, in the year 1745, when he began to see that their regulations, in inward and outward things, would have no stability, to visit the congregations of the Brethren in *Wetteravia*, and to take a nearer view of their regulations. He acknowledged the grace which the Lord had

had bestowed upon the Brethren's congregations in the old and new world among Christians and Heathens; saw and felt where he and his Brethren were deficient, and, at his return to Ebersdorf, gave them an account of it. The effect was, that most of the chief persons besought both him and the count, to make proposals of an entire union with the congregations of the Brethren. This union was scarcely effected, but the whole congregation was overpowered as by a new stream of grace, which no one could resist; though it cannot be denied, that, in the first zeal, various extravagances occurred, which, by degrees, were removed with love and earnestness. In the spring of 1746 the reigning count and his lady, together with some Brethren from Ebersdorf, held at *New Dietendorf* a blessed conference with the ordinary and other Brethren; and, after the synod at *Zeist*, the ordinary himself went, in the December following, to Ebersdorf, and brought to effect, both in inward and outward things, the regulation of this congregation, as desired at the synod. The former labourers, who wished to be employed in other places, were, for the most part, appointed to the service of the Lord in other congregations of the Brethren; and the congregation at Ebersdorf provided with new labourers. The ordinary's idea was, that this congregation ought to have a minister of its own, who should be subject to the common consistory of the counts of *Reuss*, and maintain the connexion of the congregation with the Lutheran church, together with the constitution of the Brethren, agreeably to the *Opinion of Tuebingen*. A Lutheran candidate was called for that end, and presented for ordination. When this met with difficulties, a Lutheran minister, who was in office in the neighbourhood, was proposed for the purpose. But even this was not accepted. For the consistory had been prejudiced by means of the late controversial writings, and a theological Opinion procured in this case, so, as to suppose, that a congregation, though maintaining the Lutheran doctrine, could not any longer be reckoned to the

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Lutheran church, on account of its fellowship with the church of the Brethren.

In the mean time, the reigning count departed this life at *Herrnbaag* in the year 1747, and the countess dowager *Theodora*, of the house of *Castell*, retired, after some time, to *Herrnhut*. Her third son, *Henry XXVIII*, who, in the year 1746, after the conference at New Detendorf, went to *Wetteravia*, staid there, and was, in the year 1747, married to the countess *Agnes Sophia* of *Premitz*, of the house of *Soran*. Some, indeed, of the inhabitants of *Eberldorf*, who were dissatisfied with the union, left the Brethren; and several of their friends in the adjacent parts withdrew themselves. But both the former were abundantly replaced and greatly increased from other congregations of the Brethren, who enlarged the place considerably; and the latter, by other friends in those parts, who visit, and are visited by, the Brethren.

### § 133.

AT the synod of *Zeitz*, among other things, the affair of the *Tropus* in the Unity of the Brethren (§ 122.) was considered more closely, and brought into better order. As to the inspection of the Lutheran tropus, which was offered in 1744 to the Rev. Dr. John George Conradi, general superintendent of Sleswic-Holstein, but declined by him on account of his bodily weakness, and being advanced in years; (§ 122.) the ordinary took it upon himself, until an approved divine of the Lutheran church, not a member of the Brethren's congregation, could be found, who should be willing to undertake this office. For the inspection of the Reformed tropus, the Rev. *Christian John Goshius*, dean of the chapel of the king of Prussia, was chosen and called. The deputy, who brought him the vocation and instruction, first of all presented a memorial to the king. The dean of the Royal chapel received orders to declare, Whether he could or would accept of this office? He declared his mind  
to



to this effect, that, for his part, he had no scruples about it; but, as he was engaged in other offices, and as this new office in a church, which had been hitherto attacked by so many adversaries, might, possibly, be attended with much opposition; he would refer it to the consideration of the consistory at Berlin, and the theological faculty at Francfort on the Oder, and be directed by their opinion. The members of the consistory were divided in their votes; but the faculty was unanimously for it, applauding the design, and wishing both the dean and the church of the Brethren the blessing of God on it. He, therefore, accepted the offer, and, by a Royal rescript, of the 9th of September 1746, was confirmed as antistes of the evangelical Reformed Brethren, and as one of the presidents of the synod of the Unity. In this quality he also appeared at the synod of 1748 in Silesia.

## § 134.

AFTER the conclusion of the synod, the ordinary went to England, whither a numerous company followed him from the synod. Here, the labour of the Brethren had been greatly blessed, and still increased more and more. The preaching of the gospel in the Brethren's chapel at London, was much frequented. Many souls were awakened, and added to the societies, which were ministered unto by the Brethren with the gospel and good counsel. But such as were not content with this, but would have the word and the sacraments ministered unto them by the Brethren, were, upon their pressing desire so often repeated, received into the Brethren's congregation, and treated by the Brethren like other congregations. Moreover, some Germans adhered to the Brethren, to whom the gospel was preached in their own language; and the ordinary also delivered to them some public discourses.

At *Broadbears* in *Essex* was, since 1746, an institution for children; which was afterwards divided. The girls went, in

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1746, to *Mile-end*, near *London*, and the boys, to *Buttermere* in *Wiltshire*, and afterwards to *Yorkshire*.

At *Redford*, and in the circumjacent parts, in 1745, a congregation of the Brethren had been settled from among the awakened souls.

In *Yorkshire*, the labourers, who had the care of those extensive societies, were moved to *Pudsey*, where they built an house and a chapel in it, called *Gracehall*, for preaching the gospel, on a piece of land which the Rev. Mr. *Ingham* had bought. More and more out of the neighbourhood were continually added to the societies. By degrees, some also came to live with the Brethren, and built a congregation-place near the chapel, called, at first, *Lamb's Hill*, and now, *Fulneck*.

This increase was made at a time, when England was in the greatest commotions, on account of the rebellion in Scotland, which brought also many troubles upon the Brethren. For many being scrupulous to take an oath, they were charged with being *Nonjurors*, who would not take the oath of allegiance, because they were attached to the Pretender; and therefore, the Brethren were oppressed as suspected people. They, indeed, after the example of all the religions and corporations in England, presented, in 1744, an address to the king, assuring him of their loyalty and fidelity; which was very graciously received. Nevertheless, a rumour was spread by evil-minded people, that the Brethren were secret Papists, and adherents of the Pretender, taking measures, at their meetings, to set him upon the throne. Malicious people even gave out that they had seen great chests and casks unloaded before their chapels and houses, which could contain nothing else but arms and powder; and that the Pretender was concealed among them. The people, at such times ready to suspect all foreigners, were by these reports incensed against the Brethren, and threatened to destroy their chapels and school-houses. But the magistrates interfered, and by a strict search of the houses  
thus

thus charged, silenced these wicked calumnies, and removed the apprehensions arising from them.

In *Yorkshire*, though the chapel and meeting-houses were licensed by the arch-bishop's court, yet some ministers of the Brethren were imprisoned, in order to be forced to military services. Some abandoned wretches, who sought to hinder the settlement at *Fulneck*, and especially the establishment of a cloth-manufacture, had dropped on the way thither a letter written in cyphers; which was delivered to the magistrates, and compelled them, also here, in order to appease the disturbances, to a strict search of the houses; and thus, the accusers of the Brethren were put to shame. Nevertheless, all fear of the people, and the disquietude of the Brethren springing from it, were not entirely removed, till after the total overthrow of the rebels.

§ 135.

AMIDST all these troubles, the societies of the Brethren were greatly increased. It was also impossible to refuse communion to a Methodist preacher, *John Cennick*, whose grandfather had been a Bohemian refugee, with some of his colleagues; though every objection was made to them beforehand. *Cennick* had preached the gospel in and about *Bristol*, especially to the colliers at *Kingwood*, as also in *Wiltshire*, with much blessing, and endured great persecution in many places, especially at *Exeter*. At London he assisted the Rev. Mr. *Whitefield*, preaching at the tabernacle, a large chapel in Moorfields. *Whitefield*, at his departure, about that time, to America, had committed his societies to him. Here he came into a nearer acquaintance with the Brethren, and desired to be in fellowship with them; which was, at last, promised him, on condition that he would disengage himself, in an orderly and peaceable manner, from his former connexions, and not draw a croud of his hearers at the tabernacle after him, but submit every one, who would

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not be kept back, to the examination of the Brethren. As it affected him too painfully, to leave so many people behind, in whom he, however, saw a sincere desire; so, in order to avoid the importunities and urgency of his friends, he went, in the year 1745, to the seminary of the Brethren in Germany. But he was soon disposed to return to England again; and preached in many places in the country, and especially in *Wiltshire*, with great blessing. From hence he was invited, in the year 1746, to *Dublin* \*. He, therefore, delivered the

societies

\* At *Dublin*, and throughout the whole kingdom of *Ireland*, *Arianism* and *Deism* gained daily more ground. The avowers of *Arianism* and *Pelagianism* were called *New Lights*, and the orthodox, *Old Lights*. The contention between these two parties, particularly among the *Dissenters*, ran very high: though, as to most of them, the contest was chiefly about private opinions, which did not relate to the renewal of the heart, and the experience of reconciliation through the blood of Christ. A small society was formed, consisting of persons of different religious denominations, who were sincerely intent upon finding and maintaining the truth. These, in general, held the orthodox system; and agreed upon articles of faith and good works, in which they expressed their abhorrence of the prevailing errors. They farther agreed not to enter into disputes about the particular tenets of their different religious persuasions; but to do their utmost to maintain the fundamental truths in their respective congregations. They met once a week to pray, and to expound a portion of the holy scriptures.

A certain young man, who was gone from hence to London, wrote very moving letters to his father and friends, bearing an uncommonly striking testimony of Jesus and the redemption in his blood. Some of these letters were read in this small society, and proved a great edification to all that heard them. He, after some time, returned to Dublin, and uttered the divine truths he had experienced, with extraordinary and convincing liveliness, mentioning *John Cennick* as the instrument of the change of his mind, and speaking of him in the highest terms as of a true preacher of the gospel. This induced the society to write to *Cennick*, who was then with the Methodists, and had the care of Mr. Whitefield's societies, desiring him to pay a visit to Dublin. He resolved to come hither, and set out by way of Parkgate; but was detained there so long by contrary winds, that he, at length, was obliged to return to London. Soon after, he joined the Brethren, and went upon a visit to the congregations in Germany.

After

societies he had settled in the West of England, to the care of the Brethren, and preached in Ireland with success. Having attended, in the year 1747, the synod at Herrnhag, he entered upon an entirely new field in the North of Ireland, where he, though under great persecutions, yet, with the satisfaction, yea, benediction of the arch-bishop, to whom he gave an account of himself in an audience he was admitted to, preached the gospel to many thousand souls; and thus laid the foundation for several congregations and societies. Even the Papists attended his sermons. And when some ministers made their complaints to their superiors, they were admonished, likewise to preach Jesus Christ and him crucified, that their hearers might have no reason to go any where else.

§ 136.

IN *America* the work of God in the hands of the Brethren spread more and more. The settlements at *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth* prospered, and proved a benefit and blessing to the whole neighbourhood, both in temporals and spirituals. The Brethren's congregation became more and more known, through good and evil reports. People came from all parts to get acquainted with them, and commonly went home with a

After his return to England in the year 1746, he went to Dublin, upon the repeated pressing invitation of the society. His sermons were attended with power, and a great number of souls were awakened. The following year he returned to London, and went again to Germany, where he was present at the synod of Herrnhag.

A young preacher, who was a member of the society at Dublin, carried on Cennick's labour, preaching, as he had done, twice a day. During this period, a certain man who had gifts, but was of an abandoned character, and an artful hypocrite, came from England, and began to preach. He made various attempts to attach the awakened souls to himself. This induced the before-mentioned young preacher to form a society of the awakened souls, consisting of some hundred persons, which Cennick found regulated at his return to Dublin in the year 1747.

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good impression. Many were desirous of living there; but a few only could be admitted. They who were obliged to continue in their places of abode, solicited for Brethren to preach the gospel to them, and take the needful care of their souls. From hence arose many societies and congregations in towns and in the country, to which the awakened from the adjacent parts adhered. Where no such little societies existed, as could be provided with their own labourers, to such places a Brother was sent, from time to time, to preach the gospel; and often more invitations were received, than could be complied with. I compute, even about this time, above thirty places in the provinces of *New England, New York, the Jerseys, Maryland*, and particularly in *Pennsylvania*, where the Brethren laboured with blessing among Germans, Swedes and English of various persuasions: and, accordingly, in one year only, besides the Indians and Negroes, nineteen grown persons from among the Baptists, Mennonites, Separatists, and Quakers, were baptized by the Brethren.

This extensive field required more labourers, than the congregation at Bethlehem could furnish, and part with. New assistants, therefore, were sent them from Europe almost every year. In particular, at the synod of Zeist, *John Frederick Cammerhof*, late a conventual of the Protestant cloister of *Bergen*, was appointed to go thither. He was ordained a co-bishop, while the ordinary resided at London; and went with some more ministers out of the seminary, and other Brethren, to *Pennsylvania*.

But the Brethren met also with much opposition. Endeavours were used in particular to stir up the Swedes against them, being the oldest Lutherans in the country, among whom also some Brethren laboured with blessing. A certain merchant gave a false report to the arch-bishop of *Upsal*, and, in consequence of it, desired his opinion, how they should look upon the Brethren? It is possible, that the arch-bishop confounded them with the Separatists, who had, for some time,

time, given much trouble to the clergy in Sweden; for he returned this answer: 'They ought to be guarded against, ' seeing they rejected the Godhead and the merits of Christ, ' made light of Christ for us, and of justification, of the holy ' scriptures, of baptism, and the Lord's supper, &c.' Every one knew the direct contrary, and that they were blamed in Germany for making too much of our Saviour and his merits, and not urging the law and sanctification. But, since this advice might, however, serve to lay some restraint upon the Brethren; it was signed and ratified by some ministers, and published from the pulpits\*.

Various stories were also propagated in Germany, in which the Brethren were accused of having forced themselves upon the Lutherans in America, attempting to draw them from the Lutheran church, and causing schisms. Although the ordinary had been regularly called by the churchwardens of the German Lutherans at Philadelphia, to be their minister, and appointed inspector of the Lutheran congregations, before any of the German ministers were come hither; (§ 99.) yet he resolved, from love of peace, rather to give way. He, therefore, in a letter, dated London, September the 13th 1746, to the church-wardens of the Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, resigned his office, and desired that this declaration might be published. But he was answered, in a letter of February the 3d, 1747, in the name of the Lutherans united with the Brethren's congregation, that he had not been rightly informed, if he conceived that most of the Lutheran church-wardens, who gave him the vocation, were gone over to the other side; that the schism was not to be imputed to the Brethren, but to the other party; and that they could not dismiss him and the Brethren

\* The arch bishop was indeed afterwards better informed, and received an entirely different idea both of the Brethren, and of the state of religion in America: but, the opinion being once given, and published, the case was here too, *What I have written, I have written.*

from their service among them, upon this groundless supposition. He was obliged to let it rest here. It was, however, agreeable to him and to the Brethren to know that the poor Lutherans in America had ministers, of whom they and their children received due instruction, and were formed into a regular religious constitution.

### § 137.

BESIDES the labour among Christians, the Brethren had a large field among the *Indians*\*, which, notwithstanding all the difficulties and impediments, was in a flourishing state. The Brethren from *Bethlehem* visited assiduously among the Indians living around them, and up the *Susquehannah*. They were obliged to make their way to them over high and steep mountains, through thick untrodden woods, through swamps and rivers, which had no bridges, and often through the fire, the Indians being used to set fire to a wood, in order to burn the leaves, that the grass may grow the better for the deer. They were often obliged to spend many nights successively in the woods among snakes, wolves, bears, and panthers; to carry their provisions with them for the whole journey; and, when they reached the intended place, to live in the Indian manner, be satisfied with their food, and often suffer hunger. Some Indians, indeed, understood a little English, whom they could use as interpreters. But yet, they were obliged to learn their languages, especially that of the *Mohoks*, or *Maquaas*; for which purpose, some Brethren, from time to time, resided at *Canischochery*, and afterwards at *Onondago*.

\* The mission among the Negroes in the *Caribbee Islands*, and that among the Indians in *Berbice*, were, about this time, in a great measure likewise supplied with provisions from *Bethlehem*; the missionaries who returned from their posts, or who came on a visit, were provided with necessaries, and their vacant places supplied, and the gospel was also preached to the Negroes in *Philadelphia*.

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The Indian chiefs, indeed, kept the covenant they had made with the ordinary in the year 1742, (§ 102.) so that the Brethren could go in and out among them without molestation. But the Brethren were obliged to act very cautiously, to prevent all suspicion; and were often in danger of their lives from the drunken Indians, so, that they were obliged to hide themselves from them for several days in the woods. All these difficulties did not deter them, and were more easily surmounted, than the impediments laid in their way by some of the white people, in their labour among the baptized Indians in the provinces of *New York* and *New England*. When they saw that the Indians began to be converted in truth, and to relinquish sins, in which many avaricious people found profit; they endeavoured to prejudice the Heathen against them by various slanders. They said, for instance, The Brethren had not the right doctrine: they intended to transport them and their young folks over the sea, and to sell them for slaves, and the like. But when this did not succeed, they inflamed some ignorant zealots for religion to such a height, that, in June 1742, they fell upon the mission at *Pachgatgoch*, or *Skatticok*, in *Connecticut* government, and took the missionary *John Christopher Pyrlæus*, and his two assistants, *John Shaw* and *Martin Mack*, prisoners, and dragged them from one place to another before the ministers, to be examined by them; who endeavoured, by all sorts of captious questions, to draw something out of them, which might render them suspected by government. At last, after three days, they were brought to the governor; who, having examined them in a proper manner, dismissed them as innocent people. After many such chicanes, the adversaries of the Brethren found means to create a jealousy against them, as secret Papists and traitors, in the government of *New York*\*, which they carried to such a length, that

\* This calumny continued a long time, and gained ground also in *Pennsylvania*. A certain person accused the Brethren before

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that an *Act of Assembly* was passed, in which all secret Papists, Moravian Brethren, and such suspected persons, as could not acquit themselves by taking an oath, were prohibited from going among the Indians. But, as many Brethren scruple taking an oath, *Gottlieb Buettner*, *John Shaw*, and *Gottlieb Senfemayn*, who ministered to the Indian congregation in *Chokomekah*, were, in the year 1744, cited by the governor of New England, and examined. *David Leisberger* and *Frederic Post* were, in the spring of 1745, on their journey to the country of the Maquaas, arrested, and confined upwards of six weeks at New York; and no Brethren were any longer allowed to live among the Indians. It is true, this *Act* was not renewed the next year, since some members of the assembly vehemently opposed it, from the principle, that it proceeded from a spirit of persecution. However, the enemies of the Brethren had, in the mean time, got a handle for destroying the mission among the Indians.

### § 138.

THIS induced the Brethren in Germany, in the year 1745, by their deputy at *London*, to lay the affair before the board of trade and plantations, and to solicit for protection against such undeserved restrictions. They also obtained a promise, that the government of New York should be written to, and the case of the Brethren, as good Christians and true Protestants, recommended to the governor in the best manner; which was accordingly done, and not without effect. But, since the Brethren did not believe themselves by this means to be universally secured also in the rest of

fore the magistrates, of having received French Indians, and concealed arms for three thousand men. The affair was examined into before a justice, found false, and a heavy penalty laid upon the slanderer; but it was remitted upon the intercession of the Brethren.

the

the American provinces; the ordinary, during his residence at London at that time, endeavoured to settle the matter upon a firm footing. His former friends, with whom he renewed his acquaintance, advised him, to cause the Brethren, at the next session of parliament, to present a petition to extend the benefit of a late *Act of Parliament for naturalizing foreigners*, who shall settle in the plantations, to the Moravian Brethren and other foreign Protestants, who make a scruple of taking an oath. General Oglethorpe, in the spring of the year 1747, presented the petition to the House of Commons with an ample speech, and was supported by many members. The opinion of the board of trade was required on this head. The proprietor of Pennsylvania promoted the affair among the members of parliament, and especially with the secretary of state, the duke of Newcastle, by his good testimonies of the Brethren in Pennsylvania. The matter of the *bill* was properly discussed, formed into an *Act*, and, having passed, with the greatest satisfaction, through both houses, received, in June 1747, the Royal assent \*. Hereby the aforesaid *Act of Assembly* was, of course, annulled, and no one could now appeal to it; and, by virtue thereof, lay any thing in the way of the labour among the Heathen.

§ 139.

IN the mean time, the Indians had carried on the work among themselves, and every month sent messengers to *Bethlehem*, to give an account of their situation, as also deputies to the synod of the Brethren in Pennsylvania. Neither could the Brethren forbear going, through long circuits and over untrodden mountains, in danger of their lives, to visit their forsaken sheep, and even staying with them for a

\* See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia. Appendix to the Vouchers*, XXXVII, XXXIX, XL.

while

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while in stilness; until the Indians saw it necessary to look out for some other place of abode. Part of them lived then in New York government, part in the government of Connecticut, chiefly in three places, *Chekomekah*, *Wechquatnach*, and *Pachgatgoch*. In the first place, they had formerly, in a drunken fit, sold their right to the land for a trifle; and, on their being converted, occasion was taken from thence to drive them from it. Some were dispersed in the wilderness, and, as is easy to be imagined, suffered damage in their souls, until they could again be sought after, and gathered to the flock. In order to prevent this evil, the Brethren thought of erecting a settlement of the converted Indians at *Wajomik* on the Susquehannah. In this view, *Spangenberg*, accompanied by *David Zeisberger*, took, in the year 1745, a journey to the great council of the Indians at *Onondago*, to obtain the consent of the Six Nations. In the mean time, many Indians came quite unexpectedly from *Chekomekah* and the other places to Bethlehem; where, with the approbation of the governor of Pennsylvania, they were received and entertained by the Brethren. It was proposed to them, to go to *Wajomik*. But they showing no inclination to live among the rest of the Indians; the Brethren, in the year 1746, bought a tract of land on the *Mahony*, beyond the Blue Mountains, convenient both for hunting, the proper sustenance of the Indians, and for cultivation, as an interim-place of abode for them. Most of the Indians moved thither, and were furnished by the Brethren with the necessaries for building an Indian town, which was called *Gnadenhuetten*, or, *Tents of Grace*. Many remained still in their former places, especially at *Wechquatnach* and *Pachgatgoch*, and had, from time to time, a missionary living among them, until, by degrees, most of them too moved away, and partly followed their Brethren.

§ 140.

ABOUT this time, *John*, the first-fruits of, and teacher among, the Mahikanders, (of whom mention was made § 103.) departed this life. This gave occasion to reckon up all the first-fruits of the Heathen that were brought to Jesus Christ through the ministry of the Brethren, and, to the year 1747, were fallen asleep in the faith; and to represent them in a picture in their natural colours, and in the drefs of their country. They are painted as standing before the throne of Jesus with palms in their hands, given to them by an angel, with the superscription out of the Revelations, chap. xiv. 4. *These were redeemed from among men, being the first-fruits.* Their names are,

1. *Sam*, a savage of New England.
2. *Samuel Kajarnak*, the first Greenlander.
3. *Guly*, a Persian woman.
4. *Thomas*, a savage of Canada.
5. *Catharine*, a Mulatto, from St. Jan, with a Negro-girl, *Rebecca*.
6. *Gratia*, a Negro-woman.
7. *Catharine*, a Gypsy-girl, that, after the mother was shot, was given, by the count of *Buedingen*, to the œconomy of girls at *Herrnhaag*.
8. *John*, a Mahikander, a teacher among the savages.
9. *Andrew*, a Negro, with his son *Michael*, in the arms of a single Negro-woman, *Anna Maria*.
10. *Carmel*, afterwards called *Joshua*, a Negro of Guinea, whom *Leonhard Dober* bought in St. Thomas, and brought with him.
11. *Jupiter*, whose Christian name is *Joshua*, a Negro of New York.

12. *Francesco*,

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12. *Francesco*, a savage of Florida.

13. *Hannah*, a widow of Guinea.

14. *John*, a Negro of South Carolina.

15. *Kibbodo*, whose Christian name was *Jonas*, an Hot-tentot.

16. *Ruth*, an Indian.

In this picture, which has excited many beholders to praise and glorify God, are, moreover, seen two remarkable persons, though descended from Christian parents, who came to the congregation of the Brethren, and there departed this life, viz. *Christian Zedmann*, an Armenian, and *Thomas Mammucha*, a Mingrelian. On the other hand, the first-fruits of the Tattern-nation, and of the Arawaks in Berbice, who were then in the Brethren's congregation, but were not at home with the Lord, are not to be found in it.

### § 141.

IN the year 1747, a synod was held at *Herrnhaag*. The ordinary, having built an house here, and a spacious chapel in it for the congregation, moved, in the beginning of the year, from *Marienborn* hither, with the congregation and pilgrim-house. (§ 69.) Several misunderstandings, even then, began to appear between the regency of *Buedingen* and the direction of the congregation at *Herrnhaag*. But the congregation itself was, as yet, not disturbed by them. The visits from near and distant places were never so numerous in any congregation, as they were here this year. The single Brethren alone reckoned an hundred and sixty-two persons, who desired to live with them; sixty-three of whom were admitted, but the rest were advised to return home, and to prove a good salt in their religions. Good fruits were afterwards seen from some of them. *Herrnhaag* was, about this time, the place of rendezvous, whither the pilgrims and labourers, among Christians and Heathens, came

from abroad to rest for a while : but others were here prepared, and dispatched ; and, at the end of the year, about two hundred Brethren and Sisters were reckoned, who either went again, or were sent the first time, to certain posts. Among them also were some from England, who had been present at the synod, and were attacked at sea by privateers, but escaped unhurt.

The consistory at *Stutgard* was desired to send a deputation to this synod, to examine, whether the principles and facts alledged against the Brethren by Dr. *Christian Eberhard Weismann*, a professor in the university of *Tuebingen*, in his *Church-History*, were grounded, or not ? Whether the Brethren had acted contrary to the *Opinion* of the theological faculty at *Tuebingen* of 1733 ? And, in what manner the ordinary had conducted the administration of the Lutheran tropus, which he intended to resign at this synod ? The privy-counsellor *Bisfinger*, as president, answered in the name of the consistory, declining the deputation to the synod as unnecessary and impracticable, and declaring Dr. Weismann's *Church-History* to be a private treatise, that could not make void the *Opinion* of a whole theological faculty, which still retained its force, notwithstanding the attempts to dispute the then presupposed agreement of the church of the Brethren with the Protestant doctrine, which still subsisted as sound as ever ; and advising the Brethren to make a declaration on this head to the public, instead of any examination. The article in Dr. Weismann's *Church-History*, here referred to, was illustrated in the *Natural Reflections* with annotations, and the points, in which he was mistaken, set in their true light. As to the administration of the Lutheran tropus, the ordinary was obliged still to retain it for the present.

At this synod, one hundred and fifteen persons were, according to the usage of the ancient Brethren, accepted, as acoluths, to the service of the Lord and his church : thirty Brethren and Sisters were ordained deacons and deaconesses ;

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concesses; four Brethren, presbyters; and two were consecrated bishops. One of these was *Leonhard Dober*, of Bohemian extraction, the first missionary among the Heathen, and afterwards elder of the congregation. The other was *Johannes de Watteville, Langguth*, who, in the year 1743, was consecrated a co-bishop at Gnadenfrey in Silesia, adopted by baron *Frederic de Watteville*, which adoption was confirmed by an Imperial diploma, and, during the synod at *Zeitz*, held last year, married to the ordinary's eldest daughter, countess *Henrietta Benigna Justina de Zinzendorf*.

### § 142.

IN the interval, a great change in Saxony began to take place. We have seen above, (§ 67 and 68.) that the ordinary, during his exile, did not give up his hopes of seeing the work of God, put into his hands, carried into execution also in his beloved native country. He had, from the beginning, looked upon all the hardships, that befel him and the Brethren in Saxony, as events, which God himself caused, with a view that they should not stay together in one place, but that the kingdom of Jesus might be spread abroad by them in more places; which could not well have come to pass, had they remained quietly at Herrnhut. But he likewise constantly believed that the case would alter again in Saxony. I have met with some thoughts of his concerning it, which he uttered some years before this alteration took place, and which seemed at that time entirely incredible. Thus he writes in his memorandums: "The design of our Saviour's wonderful dealings with us in Saxony is, to counteract certain well-concerted schemes of the adversaries; to procure for the Lutheran tropus its last retreat, and to raise us to honour in the very place, from whence all wicked defamations took their rise, and spread in the world." And before this, it is said: "The main support of the congregation will proceed from  
3 " that



“ that very quarter, from whence its ruin is expected, as  
“ soon as we desist from all our own works, and for some  
“ years refrain from all solicitations.”

In consequence of this advice, the soliciting for examinations, having been more than once tried in vain, was at length dropped ; and a very common incident, unexpectedly, gave occasion to this long hoped-for alteration. In the year 1746, the estate *Groß Hennerdorf*, which belonged to the count's late grandmother, where he was educated in his infancy, was offered on sale to him. He endeavoured to decline it, since he could not live in the country, and make a proper use of it ; but at last, after much persuasion, consented that his eldest daughter should make the purchase. This negotiation came to the knowledge of the king's ministers at Dresden, who took occasion from hence, to enquire more narrowly into the present circumstances of the ordinary, the reasons of his exile, and the state of the Brethren's congregations out of Saxony. They were the more inclined to this enquiry, as the proceedings at *Herrnhut* for many years past, which, amidst all the adverse insinuations, had been taken strict notice of, had greatly changed their former disposition towards the church of the Brethren. The effect was, that it was to be intimated to the ordinary, and even signified by a letter from court, that he might return to Saxony. This overture was combined with a desire that he would use his interest with his friends abroad, to procure a considerable loan to the electoral treasury of Saxony. When, therefore, presently after, a large capital, which the Brethren, in the year 1742, had procured in Holland for a person of high rank, upon a mortgage, was offered, and promised to be repaid at the Leipzig fair at Easter 1748 ; the ordinary embraced this opportunity to comply with the desire of the court, and thus to show to the electoral house, in some measure, his attachment and fidelity to it and to his dear native country, which he had unalterably maintained in all the circumstances that had befallen him. He

disposed his friends in Holland to lend the aforesaid capital to the electoral treasury. This step was very graciously received; and it was signified to the ordinary, that it was wished that more such colonies as Herrnhut might be established in the country. For this end, the electoral bailiwick of *Barby*, with the palace and the farms belonging to it, which were lately fallen to the electoral house by the death of the duke of *Weissenfels*, were offered to the Brethren as security for the said loan.

## § 143.

UPON these assurances, the ordinary, in autumn 1747, went to *Herrnhut*, and, after a short visit in *Silesia*, to *Leipzig*, during the fair. Here a farther assurance was given him verbally by the conference-minister, count of *Henrike*, of the aforesaid gracious intentions of the king; and proposals were made, in what manner they might be put in execution. But the ordinary, previously to this, petitioned for an examination, so often wished, of his doctrine and office, and of the state of the church of the Brethren; and, in hopes of attaining this point at last, he accepted of the Royal decree, issued out October, the 11th 1747, concerning his restoration in Saxony. After some stay at *Groß Hennerdorf*, he returned to *Herrnhag*, and in the spring of 1748 went again to Saxony, in order to obtain the desired examination; to which end he went in April to *Dresden*. The ministers of state declared to him, that the king was willing to grant the Moravian Brethren, as an exemplary society in doctrine and life, the privileges which they had all along enjoyed at *Herrnhut*, not only in *Upper Lusatia* and the county of *Barby*, but also in all his hereditary dominions. But the ordinary again repeated his request for a previous examination, without which the Brethren in future could settle nowhere. On its being objected, that this was not necessary, since the Brethren at *Herrnhut* had been examined in the years 1732 and 1736, upon which the Royal confirmation followed

followed in 1737; he acquiesced, that Herrnhut should be excepted: but desired so much the more earnestly an examination of his and the Brethren's doctrine and proceedings; presented an historical deduction on this head to the king, exhibited a plan of examination, and made a proposal, that the lord lieutenant of the margraviate of Upper Lusatia, and the dean of the king's chapel at Dresden \*, might be sent in this view to the synod of the Unity of the Brethren, to be held at *Gross Hennerdorf* this summer. This was agreed to. But, the latter being scrupulous to take this commission upon himself alone; two professors of divinity, one of Leipzig and one of Wittenberg, were adjoined to him. The dean of the king of Prussia's chapel, the Rev. Dr. *Cochius*, also intended to appear at this synod, as antistes of the Reformed tropus. But since in the king of Prussia's permission these words were inserted, "If the synod should be held "in Silesia"; the synod was not held at *Gross Hennerdorf*, but in Silesia; and, the Saxon divines being also scrupulous to go out of the country, without the king's orders, they were not present.

§ 144.

At last, the ordinary procured a Royal commission, to be held at *Gross Hennerdorf*. The actual privy counsellor, and first president of the consistory, count *De Holzendorf*, the privy counsellor and lord lieutenant of the margraviate of Upper Lusatia, count *De Gersdorf*, the deputy-lieutenant, count *De Loeben*, the counsellor and ordinary of the juridical faculty at Wittenberg, Dr. *Leyser*, the counsellor of appeals and of the consistory, Dr. *Heidenreich*; and the following divines, the dean of the king's chapel, Dr. *Herrmann*, and the doctors and professors, *Teller* of Leipzig, and *Weikmann* of Wit-

\* Though the elector of Saxony (at that time king of Poland) is a Roman Catholic; yet the Lutheran is the established religion of the country, and the elector has Lutheran court-chaplains, of whom the dean of the chapel is the chief. (The Editor.)

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tenberg, were appointed the commissioners. The first, the third, and the fifth had been at the commission of 1736. Besides the ordinary of the Brethren, eleven deputies, empowered by the bishops of the Brethren's church, were present in the name of the Brethren. The commission was opened, July the 29th, 1748, by an address of the first commissioner, count De Holzendorf, to the deputies, in the presence of all the Brethren in the place, and by reading the Royal commission; to which the ordinary replied, with a declaration of his joy at the long wished-for examination being now obtained. At the very beginning he delivered an ample deduction of all the general and special circumstances of his office, together with some volumes of acts and documents, as also a memorandum concerning the points hitherto controverted, upon which he desired an examination. For this end, he had ordered not only his books, but the writings of all his adversaries, as many as could be procured both here and in the city-library at Zittau, to be laid upon the table, in order to enable the divines to form a true state of the case. Opportunity was also given them to hear the ordinary deliver all the discourses to the congregation and the different choirs at Herrnhut, as usual on Sundays. Moreover, every one of the commissioners might be present at the daily meetings of his house; and they also went several times to Herrnhut, where they took a view of all the regulations, choir-houses, and æconomies, and testified their particular satisfaction at them. What, and how matters were treated during this commission, and how the report of the commissioners was worded, I cannot here give any more circumstantial account of, since the acts were not published. But yet, as many of these things have come to the cognisance of the public in an improper manner; I think myself also authorized briefly to touch upon that point at least, which was of most importance to both sides; being enabled so to do from the journal, which I kept on the spot as amanuensis of the ordinary at that time.

## § 145.

THE ordinary, before he could engage in the establishment of any more colonies in Saxony, insisted upon knowing with certainty, Whether he and his Brethren were acknowledged in Saxony as adherents to the Augustan confession? This should not be supposed, nor merely declared on the side of the Brethren; but solidly examined into. For this purpose, fifty-one questions, relative to the controverted points, were laid before the commissioners in their instruction, upon which they were to learn the sentiments of the Brethren. These were given in writing to the deputies of the Brethren, July the 30th. They delivered their sentiments at large upon every question on a separate sheet of paper, discussing and answering all the objections which might possibly, even afterwards, be raised against them. On the 1st of August the ordinary delivered a discourse to all the Brethren present, showing, that their business was not now to adopt, and give in, a confession, but to declare what doctrines, and in what manner, they have hitherto been taught in all the congregations of the Brethren, agreeably to the Augustan confession. He then ordered the answers to be read; which being approved by all the Brethren, as their real sentiments, were signed by him and the deputies, and delivered to the commissioners. They thought some answers too prolix and too particular, and desired a more distinct explanation of some doubts which were raised. This was given, in writing and by word of mouth, to the whole commission on the 3d of August in the forenoon, and in the afternoon in a conference of the ordinary and two other divines of the church of the Brethren, with the ecclesiastical commissioners; and minuted. The ordinary having been at Herrnhut with the divines, and having on the way had some material private conversation with them, some more questions were propounded on the 5th of August, to which verbal answers were desired, and

immediately given. The commissioners were willing to let this suffice. But the deputies could not be satisfied with it; and, on the 7th of August, desired the commissioners, if the divines, from the answers now given, could not consider the doctrine of the Brethren as conformable to the Augustan confession, that they would declare their objections. After some difficulties, the ordinary and the Rev. Mr. *Steinbofer*, being empowered for it by the Brethren anew, were invited to continue the conference. At the conclusion, the ordinary asking the divines, if they had any thing farther to object? and they having nothing farther to advance; a minute was taken of it, and the temporal commissioners testified their satisfaction, that now the principal end of the commission was attained. August the 8th, the rest of the deputies declared, before the commission, their entire concurrence with all the answers given by the ordinary, and once more desired to know, Whether the doctrine of the Brethren could be considered as consonant with the Augustan confession? or, whether any objection still remained? They received for answer, that the sentence of yesterday should stand; and, as to any thing farther, it should be mentioned in the report to the privy council. What the issue of this was, may be gathered from the subsequent Royal resolutions.

#### § 146.

I PASS over the rest of the matters, and the formalities of the commission, which on the 10th of August was closed with a speech, giving assurance of the king's most gracious disposition towards the Brethren, and of the constant friendship and good wishes of the commissioners; and with an address of thanks by the ordinary. An unexpected objection to one of the proofs of the divinity of Christ, drawn from his creating the world, occasioned the deputies to deliver in a farther declaration, beginning with these words: "The whole Moravian church, with all its tropuses,  
" once

“once more declare positively, and in all the countries  
 “where they are established, their adherence to all the doctrinal  
 “articles of the Augustan confession, so as they were read, on  
 “the 25th of June 1530, in the German language, before the  
 “electors, princes, and cities, and delivered to his Imperial  
 “majesty, Charles V: because they are concordant with the  
 “holy scriptures, &c.” They, at the same time declare,  
 that they will have their writings, hymns, and homilies  
 interpreted according to the Augustan confession, and will  
 allow no minister to teach contrary to it; as also, that  
 they esteem the principle, again springing up, of judg-  
 ing of the holy scriptures according to the symbols and  
 creeds, and not these writings according to the Bible, as  
 dangerous and fanatical; and will not admit it among them.  
 At the conclusion, they desire the divines from the universi-  
 ties then present, faithfully to join with them in contend-  
 ing against Arianism, gaining ground again in the world,  
 by occasion of the controversy concerning the work of  
 creation.

The commissioners then took leave of the ordinary and  
 the rest of the deputies in the most cordial manner, and  
 departed together on the 12th of August.

§ 147.

PRESENTLY after, the ordinary also, and the rest of the  
 deputies, returned to *Wetteravia*, waiting with resignation  
 for the resolutions of the king of Poland upon the report  
 given by the commission. The first thing was, that, in the  
 year 1748, the bailiwick and palace of *Barby* were ceded on  
 lease to count *Henry XXVIII. Reufs* and his consorts; and,  
 in the month of November 1749, the *Seminary* of the Bre-  
 thren was transferred hither from *Marienborn*. The ordi-  
 nary's intention was, that nothing of these events should  
 transpire. But as there appeared, in the news-papers, ac-  
 counts of the commission and its consequences, which were,

on the one hand, too favourable, on the other, disadvantageous, and thus quite contradictory, and, for the most part, untrue, or, however, ambiguous; so he found himself under a necessity to give a circumstantial account of it, according to truth, in the *Natural Reflections*. A report being spread, that a Royal decree would soon be published in favour of the Moravian Brethren in Saxony; the synod transmitted to the king a letter of thanks for the commission; in which, at the same time, the reception of the Moravian church in Saxony was for good reasons declined, as nothing but disturbances would be the result; and it was requested that the Lutheran tropus might be supported. A Royal mandate, dated September the 20th, 1749, ensued, importing, that the congregations of the Protestant Moravian Brethren, avowing the unaltered Augustan confession, should be received in all Saxony, in the same manner as in Upper Lusatia, and in the county of Barby. This was, by the king's orders, put into the hands of the ordinary, on his return in 1750 from England to Saxony, and afterwards made known by the privy council to the supreme court in Upper Lusatia, with orders to intimate the contents of it to the Brethren's congregations and institutions in Upper Lusatia, and to assure them of the grace and protection of the king. This having been done to every lord of a manor, under whom Brethren's congregations and institutions were established; this most gracious mandate was, on the 23d of November 1750, published to the congregation at Herrnhut, when the daily word was: *The sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself,—even thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God!* (Psalm lxxxiv. 3.) with which words *Christian David*, who led the first Brethren out of Moravia, (§ 4, 5, 6.) had made the beginning of the building of Herrnhut in the year 1722.

Some Saxon divines, indeed, who would not acknowledge the Brethren as adherents to the Augustan confession, began, more than ever, to vent themselves in controversial writings



writings against them. But the king and ministry seriously resented this conduct, and continued in their gracious disposition towards the Brethren. Accordingly, a mandate, dated April the 29th, 1751, was sent to the supreme inspector of the county of Barby, to deliver to the evangelical Brethren's congregation, avowing the unaltered Augustan confession, the chapel of the palace for their divine service. This was done on the 25th of May; and on St. John's day the first sermons were preached in it, in the forenoon by the late chaplain of count Promnitz of Sorau, and present director of the seminary, *Gottfried Clemens*, and, in the afternoon, by dean *Justinus Brueningk* from Livonia, who was here on a visit.

The congregation at Herrnhut continued in its former order and regulation; and the Moravian church-constitution was no more introduced here, than in other places in Saxony. But the place greatly increased, as to its inhabitants, by those who came from a distance, who at the same time brought with them useful trades and manufactures. This was, in a particular manner, visible in the very small congregation-place, *Niesky*. (§ 113.) A farther good effect of the negotiations in Saxony, was, that an eminent divine of this country accepted, with the approbation of the sovereign, the honorary presidency of the Lutheran tropus in the Unity of the Brethren. The synodal act, conferring the presidency upon him, was executed at Zeitz, October the 1st 1748.

### § 148.

THESE events in Saxony also occasioned the re-union of count *Gersdorf's* institutions for the benefit of the Vandal nation \*, with the congregation at Herrnhut. The blessing in

\* The Vandals in Lusatia, and in other parts of Germany, form a distinct nation, though living in the midst of the Germans. They have a different language, which is a dialect of the Slavonian,

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in this nation was originally by means of the grandmother of the ordinary, the late lady *Gerſdorf*, who, firſt of all, at her own charges, had the *Pſalms*, and ſome portions of the *epiſtles* of the *Apoſtles*, tranſlated and printed for their uſe, which were followed by the *New Teſtament*, and in 1727 by the whole *Bible*. About this time, the privy counſellor and lord lieutenant of Upper Luſatia, count *De Gerſdorf* conferred with the ordinary about the method of taking the care of the *Vandals* upon his eſtates. He ſent boys to the inſtitutions at *Herrnhut*, with a view to have them educated for the ſervice of his people; and deſired the *Brethren* to viſit the awakened *Vandals* upon his eſtates. God afterwards raiſed up ſome miniſters, eſpecially the *Rev. John Pech*, adjunct to the miniſter at the *Vandal* church at *Budiſſin*, and the *Rev. John Gottfried Kuehn*, adjunct to the miniſter at *Klix*, by whom a great awakening was occaſioned. The awakened *Vandals* themſelves began to bear witneſs of *Jeſus*, and went, with the *Bible* under their arms, to the neighbouring villages, held meetings, and ſtirred up in great numbers a concern for their ſalvation. *Herrnhut* ſhone in their eyes; and, between the years 1730 and 1735, often from fifty to an hundred perſons went through the villages to *Bertholdsdorf* and *Herrnhut*, ſinging ſpiritual hymns. This, indeed, cauſed much noiſe and diſpleaſure, and was one occaſion, among others, of the reſentment at that time ſhown againſt the congregation at *Herrnhut*, though the *Brethren* had no actual ſhare in it. The troubles, which in the year 1736 came upon the congregation, intimidated and kept off many. But the continuation of the work of God among the *Vandals*, lay with ſo much the greater weight upon

nian, different dreſs and cuſtoms; and retained many heatheniſh uſages, and even idols, till the beginning of this century. They are, in general, bondmen or ſlaves, and in a very abject ſtate. Yet ſome obtain their freedom, and the rights of denizens. They are extremely tenacious of their national language and uſages, and very unwilling to adopt thoſe of the *Ger-  
mans*. (The Editor.)

the

the heart of count Gerſdorf. In this view, and by the advice of the aforeſaid court chaplain, the Rev. *Gottfried Clemens*, at Sorau, he formed a conference of four Vandal miniſters. Theſe appointed ſome awakened Vandals to viſit and hold meetings in the villages, and met every quarter of a year to conſult about the good of this nation, and to give the viſiters their good advice. But this conference of miniſters, after ſome time, being dropped, he erected upon his eſtate at *Klix*, under the inſpection of the Rev. Mr. *Kuehn*, an inſtitution for the preparation of ſome ſtudents for the miniſtry, and young people for ſchoolmaſters among the Vandals. At *Uhyſt*, another of his eſtates, he ſet up a ſchool for Vandal boys and girls from other places, built a ſpacious houſe for it, and provided them with maſters from *Sordu*, and from *Eberſdorf* in Vogtland. From the latter place he called a ſtudent to *Teichnitz*, near *Budiffin*, who, three times a week, held a meeting for the Vandals living in that diſtrict, and, together with ſome Vandal aſſiſtants, took care of the awakened. Theſe, ſince the year 1736, had been divided. Some kept to the congregation at *Herrnhut*, but made good uſe alſo of the inſtitutions of count Gerſdorf. Others were prejudiced againſt the Brethren; becauſe, as they ſaid, the congregation was not under the goſpel, but under the law. When the Rev. Mr. *Clemens*, after a bleſſed performance of his office at Sorau for eight years, went, in 1745, to *Eberſdorf*; and, preſently after, the union of this congregation with the congregation of the Brethren took place; count Gerſdorf, who perceived the finger and bleſſing of God in this alteration, again made application to *Herrnhut*, intreating for labourers for his inſtitutions. In the room of the ſtudent whom he had employed at *Teichnitz*, who had accepted a pariſh, he obtained the ſtudent *Herſen*, of the ſeminary of the Brethren; and for the ſchool at *Uhyſt*, the Rev. Mr. *Meſſarovich* from Holſtein; and, by degrees, ſtill more Brethren. *Herſen* carried on the labour at *Teichnitz*, in good order and in ſilence, with great bleſſing; and left behind him,

him, at his decease in 1749, for the Vandals, a fine collection of translated hymns, which were printed under the title, *The Voice of the Bride of Jesus*. From this time, the meetings were held by Brethren from Herrnhut and Niesky, till in the summer of the year 1751, when the lord lieutenant, count *Gerfsdorf*, departed this life at Carlsbad in Bohemia. The Vandals were now at a loss for a meeting-place, as the circumstances at *Teichnitz* were altered. But providence had taken care of them. *Matthew Lange*, a Vandal born, who, from the beginning of the awakening, had adhered to the Brethren, had, by the advice and assistance of the late count *Gerfsdorf*, bought, in 1745, the small manor *Klein Welke* bordering upon *Teichnitz*; and now invited his Vandal Brethren hither. They, therefore, after the close of the last meeting at *Teichnitz*, removed, July the 24th, their place of meeting into the manor-house at *Klein Welke*; where, as well as at *Teichnitz*, they enjoy the benefit of the liberty granted by the Royal mandate of 1749, those villages being extra-parochial since the burning of their church at *Budissin*.

## § 149.

As soon as the commission in Upper Lusatia was ended, the ordinary went, through Wetteravia and Holland, to *England*, and arrived at *London*, in the beginning of the year 1749. Here he was received with various disagreeable news. False accounts of the negotiations in Saxony, which were of such a nature as might make a bad impression upon the English nation, appeared in the public prints. They began to translate some libellous writings into English, and to talk of an adverse edict of one of the most powerful states of the empire, which might have an influence in the dominions of Great Britain. The Act of Parliament of 1747, mentioned in § 138, was not sufficient for the protection of the Brethren in all places from various grievances. These  
and

and other circumstances might have been attended with the worst of consequences to the Brethren in England and in America, where the missionaries had still to encounter with many difficulties. To prevent these difficulties, the ordinary was desirous of hastening the long wished-for examination of the church of the Brethren, by the Parliament of Great Britain. But, since no examination can be obtained in England without an accusation or petition, and many Brethren scrupled to take an oath, and to bear arms; his friends advised him to present a petition to Parliament for exemption from taking an oath and bearing arms. To attain this, and, at the same time, the desired examination, many such points were asserted of the church of the Brethren in the petition, as they wished to have examined and proved. I will relate the process of the affair out of the Diary of the Brethren, and the Reports of the Parliament, with all possible brevity.

## § 150.

THE petition was presented to the house of commons, February the 20th, 1749\*, by four deputies empowered for it. Lieutenant-general *Oglethorpe* supported it with an extensive speech concerning the origin, and the constitution of, and the events in, the church of the Brethren, and concerning the usefulness of their colonies; and was seconded by another member. An eminent and very active member rose, and delivered a vehement speech against the Brethren, laid various things to their charge, and advised not to give the Brethren an hearing, but to reject their petition. This speech was confuted by five of the most respectable members, in so many successive speeches, who urged the reception of the petition, and the examination of the points men-

\* The dates here are all according to the new stile, as the other part of this History is. (The Editor.)

tioned\*. The petition was accordingly received, and the examination referred to the consideration of a committee of forty-seven members, among whom was the aforesaid opponent. The *Committee* was opened on the 6th of March, and continued on the 10th and 21st of the same month. Several members of parliament, not included in the committee, were sometimes present at it. The seventeen points, laid down in the petition, were gone through, and proved by an hundred and thirty-five documents, the greatest part of which were originals; and, in case of any want of clearness, explained by the deputies. The committee, from this examination, made their *Report* †, “ That they had examined “ the matter of the said petition.” Upon this, it was twice read in the house. To this report the documents or vouchers were annexed, to which the deputies added also the twenty-one doctrinal articles of the Augustan confession. The report was ordered to be printed. But, at the request of the deputies, it was thought proper to make public no more than seventy-seven of the annexed documents. Leave was given to bring in a bill; which was prepared and brought in accordingly on the 28th of March. The bill was then read the first time, and, on April the 1st, a second time, and then referred to a committee of thirty-two members, to whom forty members more were added on the 15th of April. This committee made their report on the 17th of April, “ That they had examined the allegations “ of the bill, and found the same to be true; that they “ had gone through the bill, and made several amendments “ thereunto.” The report was read, and the bill, with the amendments, delivered in at the clerk’s table, where the

\* All the speeches in both houses were printed at London in the *Universal Magazine* for the months of April and May, 1749.

† The *Report*, with an *Appendix of the most material Vouchers*, containing seventy-seven documents, were printed at London, in folio, with the title, *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia*, 1749.

amendments were once read throughout ; and then, a second time, one by one. Upon the question severally put thereupon, it was agreed to by the house ; and the bill, with the amendments, ordered to be engrossed. On the 18th of April, the engrossed bill was read the third time, was passed *nemine contradicente*, and ordered to be carried to the lords.

## § 151.

HERE more difficulties were expected from the bench of bishops ; since one article of the bill was, that the Brethren are an episcopal church. But it was soon found, that, at a meeting at the arch-bishop's, on the 8th of April, after reading the bill of the house of commons, they had agreed not to oppose the Brethren. Only the old venerable bishop of *London*, Dr. *Sherlock*, was of another opinion ; and, at first, no remonstrances were of any avail. The ordinary, who appeared but little during the whole negotiation, wrote, on that account, to the bishop of *Lincoln*, who understood the German language, to procure him an interview with the bishop of London, in order to remove his scruples. But, on seeing the report, he had already given them up, and became, and continued from that time, a firm friend of the Brethren.

April the 21st, the bill was carried by sixteen members of the house of commons to the house of lords ; and, after a short address of lieutenant-general *Oglethorpe* to my lord chancellor *Hardwicke*, accepted with the usual solemnity, and laid upon the table. On a motion made by the earl of *Halifax*, president of the board of trade, it was immediately read the first time ; and, April the 23d, the second time. It was found proper once more to examine the affair in a committee of the whole house. In the mean time, several objections had been suggested, not so much against the contents of the petition, as against certain rights and immunities

ties flowing from the nature of the thing; and, therefore, a new examination of the documents was expected. May the 7th, the committee of the whole house was held, the earls of *Warwick* and *Holland* being in the chair. My lord chancellor spoke first, and raised important objections to some points. These were answered, in a convincing speech, by the earl of *Granville*, president of the privy-council. He was supported by the earls of *Halifax* and *Sandys*, the duke of *Argyle*, one of the most eminent of the Scotch members; by my lord *Bathurst*, and the earl of *Bath*; and, lastly, by the bishop of *Worcester*, who bestowed upon the church of the Brethren great encomiums. The duke of *Newcastle*, secretary of state, was at first against it. But, having heard all these speeches, he proposed postponing the examination until the 12th of May, and, in the interim, to word some expressions, which caused demur, otherwise. In the mean time, the ordinary wrote to my lord chancellor, that, if he, on account of his office, could not give up his scruples, he would drop the whole affair, having, by the examination, in which all the points asserted had been found true, obtained that which he properly sought. But my lord chancellor answered, that he had no objection to the thing itself, but to some expressions only, which might give occasion to misconstructions, and cause abuse of the act, and which were easily to be altered. On the 12th of May, (a day singularly remarkable in the church of the Brethren for several important reasons, § 9, 10, 16,) after an introductory speech of the earl of *Halifax*, the alterations being read and approved of, and, after a speech of the bishop of *Worcester*, in which he declared the approbation of all the bishops, the question being put, the bill was passed in the house of lords also, *nemine contradicente* \*.

\* The *Act* has been several times printed, both in English and in Latin; and has been likewise published in German, as a supplement to the *Account of the Church of the Brethren of 1757*; and in French in 1758.



On the 14th of Mây, the bill was sent, with the amendments, from the lords to the house of commons; and, on the 19th, the house proceeded to take into consideration the amendments made by the lords, and the said amendments were read; and being severally read a second time, were, upon the question severally put thereupon, agreed to by the house, and ordered to be sent to the lords, and to acquaint them that the house had agreed to the amendments made by their lordships; and, on the 6th of June, the Royal assent was given to it with the usual words on occasion of public acts, *Le Roy le veut.*

§ 152.

THUS, after strict and repeated examination, which was the primary view of this negotiation, the Brethren were acknowledged to be an ancient Protestant episcopal church; those of its members, who made a scruple of taking an oath and bearing arms, were exempted from them, instead of the national name, *Moravian Church*, its ancient name, *Unitas Fratrum*, was received; and thus the United Brethren of the English and other nations, made joint partakers of their rights and privileges. But, in order to prevent persons from laying unjust claims to, and turning them to a wrong use, the bishops and ministers of the church of the Brethren, whose names should, from time to time, be notified by the *Advocate of the Brethren* to the *Board of Trade and Plantations*, were authorized to give a certificate to every actual member of the Unity that is desirous of taking the benefit of this act. All the members of parliament, spiritual and temporal, episcopal and presbyterian, were unanimous in this affair, and some urged it with great zeal. The ordinary had, in particular, the pleasure to enter into an useful acquaintance and correspondence with some bishops. He also laid before them, after the negotiation was finished, the doctrine and constitution of the church of the Brethren, as

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a supplement to the *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia* \*; in which the doctrinal articles of the *Augustan confession* make the first piece: for, upon this, and no other confession, would the Brethren be acknowledged and received in England. Those, therefore, have been wrongly informed, who are of opinion, that the Brethren had not till now sought to gain admission in the English dominions; but, before it was granted, had been obliged to deliver in a confession, and, as they did not do this to satisfaction, had been under a necessity to explain themselves more fully. For the Brethren were long before known and settled in the dominions of Great Britain. They delivered no particular confession, but that of Augsburg; and the farther explication of their doctrine and constitution was not *required* by the bishops; but, after the act had been passed, it was voluntarily drawn up by the ordinary, and printed.

Many invitations to the Brethren followed upon this, to settle in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, the county of Cumberland, and in the American provinces, Maryland, North Carolina, and Nova Scotia. However, no settlement has been made but those in *Ireland* and in *North Carolina*. In Scotland, indeed, the land offered by the duke of *Argyle* was viewed; but the Brethren had already more upon their hands, than they were able to execute for the present; and, but that very spring, just at the beginning of the negotiation with the parliament, a considerable colony had failed for *Pennsylvania*, conducted by *John Nitschmann*.

#### § 153.

Soon after this affair was terminated, the ordinary visited the Brethren's congregations in *Yorkshire*, *Bedford*, and

\* The title of this treatise, consisting of six parts, is, *An Account of the Doctrine, Manners, Liturgy and Idiom of the Unitas Fratrum, &c.*

*Wiltshire;*

*Wiltshire*; and, on his return, had an important conversation with the bishop of *Lincoln* at his palace at *Bugden*. In the autumn of 1749, a synodal conference was held at *London*. Among other things, in the stead of the Rev. Dr. *Cochius*, dean of the king of *Prussia's* chapel, who this year departed this life, the administration of the Reformed tropus in the Unity of the Brethren (§ 86. N. 32.) was tendered to, and accepted by, the bishop of *Sodor* and *Man*, *Thomas Wilson*. The ordinary held daily meetings in his house in *Bloomsbury-square*, without the least disturbance; but none were admitted, except the English labourers and helpers. In the chapels of the Brethren in *Fetter-Lane* and *White's Alley*, the sermons were well attended; and in the former, the gospel was preached also in German. Some Baptists, Quakers, and others, frequented the preaching of the Brethren.

In *Ireland*, where the Rev. *John Cennick* began to preach in the year 1746, (§ 135) a congregation of the Brethren was settled at *Dublin*, in the year 1750, by the co-bishop *Peter Bæbler*. In the North of *Ireland*, six Brethren preached in above forty places, having often to preach in three or four places in a day. The number of their hearers amounted sometimes to two or three thousand; and when houses and barns were not large enough, they were obliged to preach in the fields; by which means they were often exposed to the maltreatment of the populace. This way of preaching was by no means pleasing to the ordinary; but could not be altered at that time, till the too great concourse of people abated a little; when the awakened souls were settled in regular societies in their respective places, and by degrees preparations could be made for the building of chapels. The chief residence of the labourers was at *Gloonen*, where they met every month at a conference, and then separated again to their posts. They lived in the greatest poverty, and had to endure many hardships, proceeding from their poor diet, and hard way of living.

## § 154.

SCARCELY was the Brethren's church, after previous examinations, acknowledged in Saxony in 1748, and in England in 1749, and the necessary privileges granted; but, in the beginning of the year 1750, a long impending storm broke forth upon the congregation at *Herrnhaag*. The opportunity given for it was, towards the end of the year 1749, the decease of count *Ernest Casimir of Yfenburg Buedingen*, who, by a contract made April the 22d, 1738, had sold to the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren a piece of land for the building of the congregation-place *Herrnhaag*; and, besides the necessary civil liberties, granted them full liberty of conscience and religion. "But\*, since various difficulties arose on their part" (on the part of government), "from whence in future still greater inconveniences were to be apprehended;" this contract was entirely abrogated and cashiered by a new one, dated January the 1st, 1743, signed by the count of Buedingen and his three sons; in which they declared, that they were "fully convinced," not only from the good testimonies of the Brethren alledged in the first contract, but now much more so "from their own writings" in public print, as, *The Moravian Manual of Doctrine*, &c. "and by their own doctrine, life and conversation in their territories, for the space of four years, to acknowledge them to be a true, pure, evangelical congregation, according to the order and discipline of the episcopal Moravian church,—and to allow them the free exercise of religion—together with the whole order, privileges, and constitution of their church," which, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, are mentioned more largely in this contract. At the same time, the castle of *Leustadt*, and other estates, with the grant of particular privileges and im-

\* These are the very words of the contract of January the 1st, 1743.

munities,

munities, were mortgaged, for a considerable loan, to a creditor in Holland. (§ 108.) But these immunities, at the ensuing change of the government, gave occasion to various dissatisfactions, of which the inhabitants of Herrnhag also suffered their share. Divers things were required of them, which, according to the contract, they could not comply with; and then, as it may easily happen in such cases, many things may have occurred, which incensed government still more against them. The ordinary endeavoured to compromise the differences, both with the creditor in Holland and the Brethren, in an amicable manner; and, on the 21st of February, 1748, effected a stipulation and agreement with the government, that, until a farther examination and final accommodation of the differences, every thing should remain at Herrnhag, for the space of five years, in the present state. But as the above-mentioned mortgage was actually paid off, and the Brethren urged the repayment of the capital at the promised term, in order to fulfil their engagements in any other place, (§ 142 ) great displeasure fell upon the ordinary on that account, for which the inhabitants of Herrnhag had to suffer anew. These insisted upon their contract, but were, as I have been informed, not cautious enough in their expressions, and many acted in that respect not always agreeably to the duties laid down in holy writ for subjects towards their rulers, and towards those that are put in authority over them. At the same time, a *lifting* broke out in the congregation, which shall, with its melancholy consequences, be related hereafter. The extravagances attending it, both in doctrine and practice, and the dissatisfaction of a great part of the Brethren at Herrnhag on that account, could not remain unknown at Buedingen, and brought the proper instruments of these disturbances upon the scheme of promoting a separation of the greatest part of the inhabitants of Herrnhag from the church of the Brethren. By this means they thought to wound the ordinary

in the most sensible part. While the old count was alive, they could find no proper occasion for it. It must be owned to his praise, that, notwithstanding all the adverse insinuations, and much disgust taken against the inhabitants of Herrnhag not without a cause, he faithfully took care to prevent the breaking out of this inimical disposition against the Brethren. But, immediately after his decease, they made use of the homage to be paid to the new sovereign, as the first opportunity that offered for giving full vent to their ill-will and resentment. They succeeded in this, to the entire ruin of Herrnhag, and, of consequence, to the unavoidable damage of their too good-natured sovereign, who was too easily led by them.

### § 155.

THEY set about it in the following manner. January the 9th, 1750, the elders of the congregation at Herrnhag were commanded by the regency to hold themselves in readiness to do homage to the new sovereign, count *Gustavus Frederic*; and, for this purpose, to send in an authentic list of all the grown inhabitants of the male sex, of what rank and quality soever. This was done with all due obedience on January the 11th; but the Brethren requested, at the same time, that, instead of an oath, a solemn promise, by giving their hands, might be accepted; and that such as were no resident subjects, but strangers, might be exempted. From hence the regency took occasion to return, on the 16th of January, to the elders a threatening answer, full of accusations of various kinds, using the injurious appellation of a new, unheard-of sect; with orders to read this resolution, together with the form of homage annexed, to all the inhabitants. They were to promise, in this form of homage, among other things, “ That, in their establishment  
“ and constitution, they neither did, nor would, desire to  
“ be

“ be in subordination to the count of Zinzendorf, or to  
 “ such as, by his direction, and the direction of those be-  
 “ longing to him, or of their leaders, were rulers and  
 “ elders.” Upon this, the elders made a proper remon-  
 strance, dated January the 20th, that they would, instead  
 of an oath, promise all due obedience ; but that they could  
 not do homage in the manner prescribed, giving up the li-  
 berty of conscience granted them in the contract, and  
 submitting to the accusation of being a sect not founded up-  
 on sacred writ, and not comprehended in the peace of *West-*  
*phalia* \* ; neither could they understand, why they were to  
 renounce the count of Zinzendorf and their rulers and elders,  
 who never had assumed any worldly government and autho-  
 rity in civil matters over them ; and therefore they requested,  
 that the form of homage, usual in the whole Roman empire,  
 might suffice ; and that the space of time, promised in the  
 year 1748, during which every thing should remain in its  
 first state, might be employed for a more solid examination  
 of the accusations alledged. The answer of the regency, of  
 January the 22d, attempted to prove the accusations, toge-  
 ther with still more of them, and in terms still much more  
 severe ; rejected the desired examination, from the motive,  
 that every thing was sufficiently set forth and decided  
 in the controversial writings ; and positively commanded  
 them to renounce the count of Zinzendorf, their elders  
 and leaders, with the strictest orders to read the form of  
 homage, without farther delay, to the whole congregation.  
 This was done, January the 23d, with the exhortation,  
 that every one should consider well of it, and then freely  
 declare his mind before a notary and witnesses. All un-  
 animously declared, that they could not, in conscience, do  
 homage in this manner, and addressed an humble petition,  
 dated January the 26th, to the reigning count, explaining

\* The peace of Westphalia determined what religions should  
 be tolerated in the Empire. (The Editor.)

their mind concerning the accusations, and once more requesting, that the homage universally usual might be accepted, and the differences examined and adjusted during the three years of the term still remaining. All this, in an answer of the 2d of February, was, with a repetition of the accusations, flatly refused; and, with regard to the homage required of them, no more than four days allowed for consideration. The congregation made, on the 6th of February, another remonstrance, that the prescribed form of homage was contrary to their consciences, contrary to truth, to the contract, and to all usage in the Roman empire, replied to the accusations again imputed to them, and entreated, in the most moving manner, for a longer time for examination. But this and other remonstrances remained unanswered until February the 18th.

In the interval, an Instrument was drawn up by an Imperial notary public, before witnesses, and signed by all the adult male inhabitants of the place. They promise in this instrument, (1.) To do homage, and to yield obedience *in all things* to their new sovereign *alone*. (2.) They again avow the doctrine of the holy scriptures, and of the Augustan confession. (3.) They declare, that, and why, they cannot renounce their teachers; and testify in particular, (4.) That they acknowledge the ordinary of the Brethren to be a faithful servant of God; and that, should even he disengage himself from them, they could not, by any means, admit of it, in ecclesiastical and œconomical matters, in which he had hitherto shown great fidelity towards them; and, finally, (5.) That neither he, nor any other of their teachers, had ever required of them any subjection; but had, at all times, directed them to be obedient, faithful, and useful subjects to the sovereign of the country.



§ 156.

BEFORE this instrument could be delivered in, (for every thing was done with the greatest precipitation) the inhabitants of Herrnhag received orders to appear, all together, on the 18th of February, in their hall, and to hear the last resolution of the government. Notwithstanding all the remonstrances, assurances of subjection, and petitions for an examination of accusations, and for the accommodation of the differences still subsisting, a printed proclamation, dated February the 12th, 1750, was read to them, in which the above-said contract of the year 1743, signed by the reigning count and his heirs, was pass'd over in silence; and, on the contrary, several very insignificant conditions, which were said not to have been fulfilled, were alledged out of the contract of 1738, which had been cancelled, and then various unproved and unheard-of accusations alledged; against which the Rev. *Samuel Lieberkuehn*, minister of the congregation, immediately protested in the name of the congregation. On account of these things it was, that near a thousand faithful and profitable subjects, having been received but twelve years ago, after mature consideration and examination, as a true, pure, and evangelical church, and even seven years ago, after a repeated examination of their doctrine and constitution, life and conversation, acknowledged from self-conviction, confirmed, and endowed with still more privileges, as an episcopal church; (§ 154.) were now, without farther examination and proof, merely upon the accusations and declarations of their adversaries, pronounced an erroneous, new religion, without foundation in the word of God; and not tolerated by the laws of the Roman empire. Since they, therefore, could no longer be suffered to live in a country, where, for many years, people of various sects had found shelter; they were ordered to leave it within the space of three years; and, on the other hand, all liberty and protection of the government

2

promised

promised to all that would renounce their rulers and elders, abandon the hymns and doctrinal books of Herrnhut \*, and join with the Reformed or Lutheran churches in the country, — or even, without any external engagement with this or the other religion (and therefore, after the manner of the Separatists and other sects tolerated in the country) would chuse to have in silence their own way of worship according to their knowledge; and all, who had filled offices in the congregation, were forbidden, at their peril, to dissuade or hinder any one from it. The above-mentioned notary's instrument, indeed, was, on the part of the congregation, presented, and, after some difficulties, received; but without effect. The proclamation was distributed among all the inhabitants, affixed to the public places, nay, even to the apartments of persons of high rank, and printed in the news-papers.

The impending storm being thus broken forth, the congregation could now breathe more freely, and had leisure to call to mind, and make an humble confession of, their manifold faults and mistakes; and, after obtaining pardon and a new assurance of the grace of God, could take all these things, as a gracious correction, out of his hands; but consider themselves, at the same time, as an exiled congregation, innocently suffering in the main point. For if we consider this whole catastrophe, from the beginning to the end, together with all the secret springs, which we are not willing to expose; we can regard it in no other light, than that of a persecution merely on account of religion; and accordingly, the rescripts, even the very last, after the total evacuation of Herrnhag, dated March the 28th, 1753, were so full of invectives against the doctrine and constitution of

\* There are no books at all extant under this title, except *The Moravian Manual of Doctrine*, being a *Catechism*, published in the year 1740, which consisted wholly of Bible-sentences; and concerning which it was positively asserted in the contract of 1743, that, according to the same, the doctrine of the Brethren had been examined, and found orthodox.

the church of the Brethren, that we cannot but admire the patience with which they heard, and were silent to, them. What contributed greatly to this behaviour of the congregation, was, that bishop *Johannes de Watteville*, who, a few days before the order given for the emigration, was returned from his visitation in America, and come hither, several times delivered his sentiments to the congregation concerning this event, both before and after it, by occasion of the daily words, which, from the beginning of the year, treated of the persecutions of the church of Christ; admonishing the Brethren, in particular, not to murmur at it, or to think and speak in an unbecoming manner of the sovereign of the country, who, no doubt, had been imposed upon by bitter enemies of the Brethren,

§ 157.

ALL the inhabitants of Herrnhag, therefore, resolved to suffer in silence; not to accept the overture made by the regency, of staying, on condition of renouncing their elders and rulers; to relinquish their fine houses and well constructed workshops and manufactures; in the name of Jesus to take their staves in their hands, and to pray for those that drew these sufferings, and this great loss of their property, upon them. I have been assured by many that were present, that, on this occasion, the peace of God was diffused over the whole congregation in a remarkably powerful manner.

Three days after the order for emigrating, ninety single Brethren made the beginning, and went to Pennsylvania. The rest of the inhabitants moved by degrees into other congregations, in Saxony, Silesia, Holland, &c. which thus received a considerable encrease of useful members. The children's economies were transplanted chiefly upon the countess of Zinzendorf's estates in Upper Lusatia. Since in Wetteravia the Brethren were subject to many difficulties, and could not but expect more; part of the *pædagogium* were

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were removed from *Marienborn*, and part of the institution for the education of small children, from *Lindheim*, to count *Gerisdorf's* school-institution at *Ubyst*, and from thence afterwards to *Niesky*; part of them to *Ebersdorf* and *Barby*, and from thence to *Groß Hennersdorf*. All the circumjacent parts lamented this unexpected change; and especially the subjects of the count of *Ysenburg Buedingen*, who heretofore had presented a complaint against their sovereign to the Imperial chamber of justice at *Wezlar*, concerning the settlement of the Brethren, (§ 93.) and had given them much trouble, now saw, with grief, the loss which they sustained in their livelihood, made complaints of it to their superiors, and wished for the restitution of the Brethren; and to this day they flatter themselves with the hopes of it on every favourable appearance, and behave in a friendly manner towards the Brethren. Neither was it the intention of the regency at *Buedingen*, which expected nothing less than that all the inhabitants, without exception, should emigrate, and not one be induced by the fine houses and business, to offer to stay. Since they could not comprehend this, another edict was printed and published on the 13th of March 1750; in which the elders of the congregation were charged with perplexing the minds of the inhabitants by various artifices and false representations, and with sending them out of the country; and the assistance of the government against all their cunning and power, was once more promised to all that would stay. Although this charge was sufficiently refuted on the spot, by producing a declaration, signed before the Imperial notary public and witnesses, by all who had hitherto emigrated, that they left the country without persuasion and compulsion, of their own free choice, and for conscience sake; yet this opprobrious edict was forced upon all the Brethren, and, together with the former, posted in all public places and on the highways. Notwithstanding this, several, who were about to depart, applied to government about the very same time, and, after a strict examination and many persuasive

persuasive arguments, obtained the desired passports, as was always the case afterwards.

I know but of one person, who suffered himself to be persuaded to renounce the ministers of the Brethren's congregation; but he soon repented, and, having asked the Brethren's pardon for this injury, as he believed it to be, went to live under another government. A few children were taken away by their parents who lived at a distance; but they very soon brought them again to the æconomies, showing their sorrow for having done so. On the other hand, there came a great number of strangers, some of them persons of distinction, to see with their own eyes, what they could not believe, how the Brethren, now, even under reproach and loss, approved themselves as servants of God. Many asked leave to stay with the Brethren, and expressed themselves to this effect: *Whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: thy people shall be my people; and thy God, my God: where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried.* (Ruth i. 16, 17.) But they, and, among others, on the 6th of April, twelve couples of married people, who, since the edict of emigration, came to stay, were advised to return to their places of abode, and to serve their and our Saviour in stillness. But still the number of those, who, in the year 1750, came to Herrnhag to stay and emigrate with the Brethren, amounted to thirty-five; and above four hundred and seventy persons emigrated this first year.

§ 158.

THE Brethren might, indeed, have conceived well-grounded hopes of being protected by law in their possessions, and in the liberties obtained by a solemn contract. It was even intimated to them, that, if they chose to insist upon their rights, they should not want support and assistance. But they had no freedom so to do, since they considered this event as a gracious chastisement from an higher hand, and therefore chose rather to bear patiently the injury done

done to them by men. They also received invitations from several sovereigns, to settle in their dominions. But most of them chose to move into the congregation-places already established. Only the French Reformed Brethren and Sisters, by the interposition of the ordinary, as advocate of the Brethren, accepted the invitation to *New Wied*; but made no preparation for building there, until the doctrine and constitution of the Brethren had been solidly examined.

Thus, the three years, allowed for emigrating, being elapsed, all the houses of *Herrnhaag* stood empty. On the part of *Buedingen* much pains has been taken to fill them again. Various sorts of people were found from time to time, who settled there. But, not being able to find their livelihood and fulfil their engagements, they always went away again. This occasioned the government to make enquiry of the Brethren, whether they would not again take possession of the houses, which still remained the property of the expelled inhabitants? Accordingly, the Brethren have entered into treaty with the government: but it always came to nothing.

I will conclude the article of *Herrnhaag* with the words of the ordinary taken from the recapitulation of the most memorable occurrences of the year 1750, at the close of that year: "I consider the emigration of the Brethren from  
 " *Herrnhaag*, as a deliverance from danger. It had, indeed,  
 " but a gloomy aspect in the beginning. But it is certain, that  
 " it was a dangerous station for us. I shall, as long as I  
 " live, reckon this event among the particular favours, and  
 " not among the oppressive circumstances, which are attend-  
 " ed in the sequel with pain and concern. The grievous  
 " part of it was at the time when the chastening was felt.  
 " But afterward it has, and will yield the peaceable fruit of  
 " righteousness unto them that were exercised thereby, and  
 " we all shall receive a benefit from it: not to mention  
 " what servants and handmaids our Saviour has prepared there  
 " for his service,—and that there the hidden defects of,  
 " and

“ and the secret dangers in, his congregation broke out  
 “ at the right time, and afforded matter for repentance;  
 “ which defects and dangers, indeed, in all our congrega-  
 “ tions, had a tendency to a sifting, but likewise to a deeper  
 “ knowledge of our own hearts.”

§ 159.

By the breaking out of secret dangers, and of a sifting the ordinary means the extravagances of some Brethren, both in doctrine and practice, mentioned towards the end of § 154, which, from the year 1746 to 1750, made their appearance first at Herrnhag, and afterwards in the rest of the congregations. But I must previously relate what gave occasion to these extravagances. The ordinary, after his return from America in the year 1743, was obliged to engage in many difficult and intricate affairs, relating to Wetteravia, Gotha, Brandenburg, and Livonia. (§ 105 and following.) Many writings of adversaries, and many libels appeared in public; and it could scarcely be supposed otherwise, than that the congregation, in many places, was at the eve of a persecution. The great accession from other places, and the vast encrease of the congregations, made the ordinary apprehensive of danger. The Brethren received invitations to settle colonies in other countries, all of which could not be declined without serious consideration. In order, therefore, to avoid perplexity in so manifold difficult circumstances, he came to a conclusion with his nearest assistants, that, instead of entering into anxious cares, and thus embarrassing their affairs still more, they would, in all things, have a single eye to the issue which the hand of the Lord from time to time should point out to them, and that, like *babes*, (Νηπιου, Matt. xi. 25.) they would resign themselves to the paternal care of him, who directed his disciples to behold the fowls of the air, with respect to unnecessary troubles,

troubles, and who, in order to prove them, asked, whence they should provide bread, though he himself knew what he would do. This confident resignation into the hands of God, made him and his assistants bold and chearful, in the midst of all the difficulties, and rendered their work easy.

There occurred, besides this, a certain remarkable circumstance. The ordinary had, during his abode among the various sects in Pennsylvania, acquired a farther insight, than he had before, into the emptiness and pernicious tendency of all the methods of sanctification, which are not, solely and alone, deduced from the merits of Jesus. On his return to Europe, finding many new inhabitants in the congregations, of several persuasions and forms; he was apprehensive of a similar evil; and therefore laboured against it in his discourses and hymns, endeavouring fully to enthrone the merits and wounds of Jesus; and showing that not only the forgiveness of sins and eternal salvation were to be deduced from thence, but that the cleansing from sin, and our true sanctification and preservation, flowed solely from this fountain. The subject of the blood and wounds of Jesus, particularly of the holy wound in our Saviour's side, became now (and especially, since the litany of the wounds of Jesus, mentioned in § 120, was published in the congregations,) the chief point in his discourses, and those of the rest of the labourers. The consequence of this was, that not indeed the matter, but the method, of the law, or the coercive and anxious means of attaining salvation and holiness, was laid aside in the congregation, and, instead of the many different methods, the one only way, to flee as a sinner to, and abide in, the wounds of Jesus, maintained its ground. The advantage of it was apparent. Many anxious minds attained to evangelical liberty; self-righteousness was exploded, and hypocrisy exposed; and such as took offence at this, went away.

The ordinary having, in an ode upon the birth-day of his son Christian Renatus, made use of these words: *A bird*

*in*



in the atmosphere of the cross, sick of love after the shrine of Jesus's side; (which expressions were intended to signify the same as is said in the Canticles: *O my dove, that art in the clefts of the rock*, (ch. ii. 14.) and whose serious meaning has been sufficiently vindicated in *Spangenberg's Apologetic Declaration*, against all the raileries drawn from them) a variety of parodies and imitations of this expression followed, which, though indeed not contrary to divine truth, yet were not agreeable to the simplicity and gravity of it. and gave occasion to many allusions which bordered closely upon trifling and folly. The ordinary, to whom nothing was more unbearable than hypocrisy, did not chuse to oppose this directly with that severity, which others thought necessary, lest such persons should learn the art of saving appearances, and be deterred from speaking according to the disposition of their hearts. He was of opinion that, if they were suffered to speak as they thought, not only others would obtain a better knowledge of them, but they also would learn by degrees to know themselves more deeply; and thus an opportunity would be found to put them wholesomely to shame at the proper time, and to lead them into another way of thinking and acting. But, if a matter were urged too soon, and a greater stress were laid upon church-discipline, than upon a true conversion of the heart; he judged this to be the way of making hypocrites. He used frequently to speak his mind upon this subject, not only in conferences with the labourers, but even in public discourses. This was in part misunderstood, and in part so badly applied, that some assumed so much the greater liberties, especially since the congregation-offices were not properly supplied, or, however, too much with young, unexperienced persons, and the conferences were not in the proper order.

## § 180.

IN this manner it was, that the topic of the discourses about this time, representing believers as playful children, rejoicing and recreating themselves, with full resignation, amidst all the difficult circumstances which may befall them; or as birds in the atmosphere of the cross of Jesus; or of doves flying to his wounds, as the clefts of the rock, gave occasion to a variety of abuses and excesses in words and actions, which, though indeed they did not break out in works of the flesh, punishable even in man's judgment, as some bitter enemies and calumniators have pretended, were yet sinful in the eyes of God, and deserving chastisement according to the rules of a congregation of Jesus. This evil appeared, first of all, in the year 1746, in Wetteravia, while the ordinary and most of the labourers were absent at the synod of Zeist and in England. Several labourers, indeed, gave serious admonitions against it, but effected not much more, than attempts to conceal the matter from them. As soon as the ordinary was, in part, informed of it, he, in the beginning of the year 1747, gave an earnest caution against such trifling and unmeaning expressions, in a discourse to his house at Marienborn, and in a serious letter to the labourers of all the congregations. This, and his presence at Herrnhag in the year 1747, retarded, for some time, the breaking out of this evil. But, in the years 1748 and 1749, he, on account of the negotiations in Saxony and in England, being absent, and most of his eldest fellow-labourers being engaged, some in assisting him, and some in other parts of the world; the evil, which had been restrained by his earnestness, now, like a pent-up torrent, broke forth with the more violence. They began in such a manner to refine upon, and overcharge with various poetical figures and unintelligible expressions, the subject of the sacred wound made in the side of Jesus, that his precious merits were almost totally set aside. Each of this sort of people

people strove to out-do the other in strange and unintelligible new expressions and poetical productions, deviating very far from the pattern of the old church-hymns, and the spiritual songs hitherto in use in the congregations of the Brethren. Others, who had formerly read mystical books, brought all manner of fanatical ideas upon the carpet. Many who had had a legal education, (and this was the most surprising of all,) from a gloomy, self-working spirit still cleaving to them, fell, all at once, into a liberty equally unbecoming children of God, which, in some, proceeded even to a licentious impudence. A certain spirit of lifting and temptation, infusing this poison, under a specious appearance, with an inconceivably captivating power, into every one that kept not a strict watch over his heart, ran, like wild-fire, through more congregations. A great part of the Brethren and Sisters were carried away by it; and others, being no longer able to withstand the torrent, could do no more than sigh and weep. Some, who looked upon the malady as incurable, left the congregation\*. At length, a full account of these melancholy circumstances came into the hands of the ordinary, in the year 1749, at London. He endeavoured, first of all, to remove this evil by a severe letter to all the congregations, and afterwards, by dispatching for this end some Brethren to the German congregations; which also had the desired effect. His son-in-law, bishop *Johannes de Watteville*, having finished his visitation of the congregations and missions in America, being returned to London, he gave him a commission to make a journey through all the congregations, to speak with every member of

\* The beginning of this lifting did not arise from irreligious principles, nor did it end in immoral practices. The cause of it was an extravagant and fanatic joy, which gave occasion to inconsiderate expressions. A certain joyous perfection was eagerly pursued which, however, was not attained to since the depth both of human depravity, and of the atonement and sanctification through the blood of Christ, which twofold knowledge can alone produce and preserve a true and solid peace of mind, was forgotten.

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them; and, in an affectionate, but at the same time earnest manner, to lead them again into the pure evangelical way. In the summer of 1750 he went himself to Germany to the synod to be held at *Barby*, which in 1751 was concluded at *Herrnhut*; and took occasion, both in the synodal conferences and declarations, and in his discourses to the congregations and the choirs, also in conversation with individuals, to pour out his heart upon this head. Our Saviour gave grace, that almost all, that had taken a share in these excesses in doctrine and practice, acknowledged their error with shame, sought, and found forgiveness with Jesus. Such, upon whom it had not this effect, went away. But those labourers, in whom a relapse was to be apprehended, were dismissed from their offices.

### § 161.

THUS, the hidden dangers, like a long lurking malady, slowly operating to destruction, were, at the right time, brought to light, and, upon a solid acknowledgment of the deviations, with many penitential tears, removed. I must still add, that the deliverance from this dangerous situation, proved, to many friends and spectators, who were hitherto wavering, the most evident demonstrations of the Brethren's congregations being not the work of men, but of God; or else, the whole fabric would infallibly have gone to ruin. But yet, the after-pains lasted longer, and, to this day, serve as a salutary remembrance, and as a warning against all hurt, which may be apprehended from the imperfection of a congregation and the indwelling sin of its members. One of the melancholy consequences of it was a torrent of controversial writings, which about this time overran all Germany and other countries. A difference must, however, be made between these writings. Of some it may be said, that they have been of advantage to the Brethren in various ways. They have showed them their deviations, though not from the only ground of salvation, yet from the simple scriptural

scriptural way of teaching; and that they had, by word and walk, imprudently caused offence and a stumbling to many innocent and not rightly informed persons. This has made them to be ashamed before God, and to become more circumspect in their words and actions. But it may, with truth, be asserted of most of those writings, that they are filled with glaring falsifications of words, or perversions of their meaning, false conclusions, and impudent lies and calumnies. Although we could not but say, even with respect to this sort of publications, as David said of Shimei: *So let him curse, because the Lord hath said unto him, Curse David;* (2 Sam. xvi. 10.) yet they may, boldly and without scruple, be numbered among the revilings for the sake of the name of Christ; since they originated in an enmity against the simple doctrine of the cross and the merits of Jesus, and, by their clamours, aimed at the dissipation of the cloud of witnesses, which withstood, with emphasis and good effect, the Deism and Atheism of high-soaring philosophical minds, the Pelagianism, again breaking in like a flood, and the Pharisaism of the self-righteous world. The envy of the old, the ambition of many young, and the avarice of many necessitous writers, have, through the genius of the present times, equally satirical and carnal, produced writings, which after-ages will be more ashamed of, than the present world is of the old trials of witches, and of the barbarism in the religious controversies about the beginning of this century. Some of them also are so full of obscenity, and of bitter deistical railleries upon the sacred person of Jesus, that honest people, though prejudiced against the Brethren's congregation, are ashamed of them, nor will suffer others to read them, to avoid giving them offence.

This sort of writings did no great damage to the congregation itself. They rather kept many from it, who loved the praise of men more than the praise of God. But yet, many simple and sincere souls out of the congregations were offended by them, misled to many uncharitable censures of,

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and trespasses against, a work of God which they otherwise had a respect for; and thus were with-held from the universal band of brotherly love and unity, according to John xviii. Many, and often almost insurmountable, difficulties were, by this means, laid in the way of the furtherance of the gospel among the Heathen. It is also a very grievous circumstance, that many sensible persons of various ranks and religions, who were not willing to be charged with being too easy of belief, on a closer enquiry into the matter, and by personal acquaintance with the Brethren, became altogether mistrustful of, and enraged against, the authors of such writings, by which they had been deceived; and thus, alas! entirely lost the small remains of respect for the ministers of their religion, and at last were quite at a loss, what and whom they were to believe.

### § 162.

WITH a view not to promote this evil, and not to expose any farther many divines, useful in other respects, to their hearers, the Brethren chose to be silent for a time to the accusations against them, in the firm hope, that He, who judgeth righteously, would, in his own time, plead their cause. But, since many friends urged it, that at least the principal charges of the adversaries should be answered; as the fine apology, published in 1745, intitled, *The Form of the Cross's Kingdom of Jesus in its Purity*, seemed already to be forgotten, the Rev. *Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg*, at his visit in the German congregations from America, published, in 1751, a *Declaration*, approved by the synod, concerning the *Accusations*, &c. with four appendixes. He, then, once more went through all the controversial writings, and, having extracted the accusations, laid them before the ordinary, though, for the most part, without mentioning the book and author: because the ordinary was not willing to be disturbed in the good opinion, love and regard, which he entertained for  
many

many of the writers. Part of the accusations, Spangenberg himself replied to in his *Apologetic Declaration*. The rest he comprised in questions, and desired the ordinary to answer them. He immediately subjoined his answers to two hundred and twenty-four questions, relating to his person and actions. These, together with the *Apologetic Declaration*, were printed in 1751, under the title: *True Answers given to more than three hundred Accusations against the Ordinary of the Brethren*; together with twenty-four important appendixes, and, in the preface, some declarations of the ordinary concerning this controversy. At the synod at Barby in the year 1750, one hundred and sixty-one questions were laid before the ordinary, merely concerning theological accusations, and immediately answered by word of mouth in nine sessions, in the presence of all the synodal members, which, with all the less material questions, objections, and historical illustrations, were minuted by me, as proto-notary of the synod at that time. The remaining one thousand and thirty-seven questions, relative to a great variety of accusations, the ordinary answered from time to time in writing. These answers were published, in the year 1752, in *Spangenberg's Final Apology*; and make, together with seven large appendixes, four complete alphabets, without the preface and index. The *Literal Extract of the Minutes of the Synod*, in which the before-mentioned theological accusations are answered, is the fifth appendix, and alone takes up twenty-eight sheets. Among the appendixes, the ordinary's *Deduction to the privy council at Dresden, after the commission of 1732*, and his *Opinion concerning the way and manner of the controversies, for some time carried on against him*, together with a dedication to that board, afford the best light into the whole affair.

Add to these the writing of the Rev. *William Frederic Jung*, Lutheran minister at *Haynichen* in the county of *Hanau* in *Weiteravia*, intitled, *Dr. Luther, still living, teaching, suffering, and conquering, in the Count of Zinzendorf*,

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which consists of mere parallel passages of the writings of Dr. Luther and the ordinary.

These apologies had a sufficient effect upon the impartial public, and the friends of the Brethren's congregations that were wavering for want of due information, and silenced for some time the spirit of contradiction and calumny.

A concise account of the controversy, with the remonstrances and examinations, from the beginning to the year 1750, is to be found in the IX. Piece of the *Natural Reflections*, page 117 to 144.

### § 163.

It is now time to return, and to relate several particulars concerning such congregations and missions, as could not before be properly taken notice of in this Part, for the sake of the connexion. In *Silesia*, in the year 1747, *Polycarp Mueller*, a bishop of the Brethren, entered into his rest. The ordinary advised to set, in his stead, a Lutheran ordained divine over the Silesian congregations of the Brethren, in order to unite them more closely with the Lutheran religion; as he had attempted to do in the years 1743 and 1744, according to § 112. For this end, the dean *Henry Gerner*, of Copenhagen, was called to be the superintendent of the churches of the evangelical Brethren in the dominions of the king of Prussia, in which capacity he received his dismission from his king\*. But this also met with so many difficulties, both on the part of the divines, and the Brethren, in Silesia, that the ordinary was obliged to give up his design. For, at the very time when the Rev. Dr. *Cobius*, dean of the Royal chapel, was, with the king's approbation, appointed antistes of the Reformed tropus, and in this quality was present at the synod in Silesia, some Lutheran ministers preached against the Brethren; and a

\* See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia. Appendix*, p. 28 and 29.



certain clergyman, who would not declare himself against, and renounce all intercourse with, them, was deposed \*. The Royal protection, indeed, deterred them from disturbing the newly established colonies; but the Brethren living in other places were oppressed in various ways. Since the Moravian Brethren had the Royal grants of their privileges on their side; the Herrnhuters and their emissaries were continually complained against, and adverse rescripts were surreptitiously obtained against them, which they contrived to apply to the so-called Moravian Brethren and their regular ministers. In this manner, in the year 1749, the minister of the congregation of Moravian Brethren at Roßnitz was driven away; notwithstanding the Royal grant of 1743 for their place of worship, which, two years after, had been acknowledged and confirmed by a Royal commission. (§ 111.) Young gentlemen were, contrary to the mind of their parents or guardians, taken away by their other relations from the Pædagogium of the Brethren, to prevent, as they pretended, their being educated in another religion. This was the cause of the Pædagogium being broken up, and the young gentlemen of other countries, who were educated there, being taken home by their friends.

In these circumstances, which were occasioned in a great measure by the enmity of the most eminent Lutheran divines, it could not reasonably be taken amiss of the Brethren in Silesia, that they did not concur with the ordinary's laudable design of bringing them into a nearer connexion

\* In the year 1748, the number of ministers of different countries amounted to no less than twenty, who, within three years, were either deposed, or had sought and obtained their dismissal, before they let it come so far, for no other reason, but because they would not, contrary to their consciences, declare the Brethren to be erroneous. A lamentable fruit of religious animosity, and constraint of conscience! And yet the constant complaint was, that the Brethren enticed away the sincere souls, and especially the most useful servants of God, and thus weakened the evangelical religion.

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with the Lutheran church; but, in order to obtain peace, were, in pursuance of the first Royal grant, desirous of remaining exempted from the Lutheran consistories, and subordinate to the bishops of the Moravian Brethren's church. Dean Gerner, therefore, was again called away from Silesia, and, at the provincial synod in the year 1750, John George Waiblinger appointed bishop of the Brethren in Silesia, in the late Polycarp's stead.

## § 164.

As to the *Bohemian Brethren* at Berlin, who, till now, had been edified without much observation, I cannot omit this opportunity of mentioning a certain occurrence relating to them. They were obliged, in the year 1747, to declare themselves now publicly, before a Royal commission, in favour of the church of the Brethren, to which they had these many years privately adhered. The occasion to it was a division among the rest of the Bohemians concerning the holy communion. The case was this. Before the Bohemians of *Gerlachshaim*, of whom we are now speaking, retired into the Brandenburg dominions, the Bohemians of *Groß Hennersdorf*, who, in 1732, came to Berlin, and, till 1735, were without a minister, held their meetings in a private house. Some of them had a great desire to receive the holy communion; but were not willing to go to any German minister. Coming one day from the town-house, and resorting to a tavern to take some refreshment, it came into their minds, that the Lord Jesus celebrated his last supper in an house of entertainment, and that they might do the same, without a regular minister. Having locked the door, prayed, and confessed their faults one to another, they spoke the words of institution, broke the bread, and divided it, as also the wine, among themselves, in remembrance of the death of Jesus. Some, whom they acquainted with it, joined them. Others were offended at it: and this was the beginning of the following divisions

sions among them. The former desired the Rev. Mr. *Macher*, whom they got in 1735, to break bread with them. He asked the opinion of divines about it, who advised him to the contrary; and he refused their request. But his successor, *Liberda*, enquired of the king, whether he might break bread to such as desired it, and distribute wafers to others that should request it; and obtained permission. He, therefore, held the holy communion, in the forenoon, with wafers, and in the afternoon, and sometimes in the evening too, with breaking of bread. They chose this time of the day, in order thus to distinguish themselves from the Reformed: for all of them chose then to be called Lutherans. But he could not, by this means, prevent divisions among them, and various disorders. All these things happened, before the Bohemian Brethren of Gerlachshiem came to Berlin; who, on account of these and other dissensions, being scrupulous of joining themselves to the other Bohemians, (§ 77.) adhered to their own minister, *Augustin Schulz*, and kept to the regulations introduced among them while in Saxony. After the death of *Liberda* in 1742, *Macher* was again appointed minister at the Bethlehem-church. He was now obliged to administer the Lord's supper to the Bohemians in the above-mentioned way; but could not forbear, in his sermons, and at the petitions for the communicants, making an unbecoming difference between them: at which some were so provoked, that they went to the Lord's supper in a German Reformed church. This was the beginning of the breaking out of a discord of twelve years continuance among the Bohemians of Gross Hennerdorf, upon which great disturbances followed. Those inclined to the Reformed religion, petitioned the king for a minister from *Lissa* in Poland, for the whole colony, and obtained his permission. Those who were inclined to the Lutheran religion, presented a remonstrance against it, and requested an examination. The king commissioned for this examination the field-marshal general, *De Kalkstein*, a Lutheran,

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and the major general, count *Dohna*, a Reformed nobleman, with orders to examine the affair thoroughly, though without any formal and tedious law-proceedings, and to make their report. The commission was held in the month of March 1747. All the Bohemians of the male sex were ordered to appear, and to declare, whether they would be Lutherans or Reformed? Each party took pains to draw the Brethren to their side, that so the decision might be given in favour of the strongest party. The Brethren would have nothing to do with this idle contention, though it had, and might have farther, bad consequences. According to the roll, taken by the Royal commission, it appeared, that they declared themselves thus :

As Lutherans,	at Berlin,	138	} Total 138.
	at Rueksdorf,	—	

As Reformed,	at Berlin,	129	} Total 133.
	at Rueksdorf,	4	

As Bohemian-Moravian Bre-			} Total 179.
thren,	at Berlin,	114	
	at Rueksdorf,	65	

The Royal resolution followed on the 29th of March. According to this, the *Simultaneum* \* was intended to be introduced in the Bohemian church; the Reformed were to call a minister of their confession, and the Lutherans, to keep the Rev. Mr. *Macher*. As to the Brethren, a fuller declaration was required of them, in what manner they intended using their church-liberty. They declared, in a memorial of the 5th of May to the Royal commission, that they were descendents of the Brethren in Bohemia, and had, while in Saxony, lived in connexion with the Moravian Brethren at Herrnhut. They had at Berlin, as long as no division existed among the rest of their countrymen, attended the Bohemian religious worship in the Bethlehem-church,

\* The *Simultaneum* is said to be introduced in a church, when it is used as a place of worship by different religious persuasions alternately, at stated hours or days; which is the case in many places abroad. (The Editor.)

and at Ruckdorf adhered to the Bohemian minister, *Augustin Schulz*; and all of them had received the holy communion of him. But they had, at the same time, continued among themselves the good regulations which they had while in Saxony; held their private meetings, and, for some years, had labourers from the Moravian Brethren. They were, therefore, not to be esteemed as novices and profelytes, but as Bohemian-Moravian Brethren of ancient times; and, as such, desired liberty for the public exercise of their religious worship. They requested, at the same time, that *Augustin Schulz* might be ordered to administer the sacraments to them, as hitherto; declaring, that they would keep to him as long as he lived, but, after his death, apply to the Moravian Brethren for a minister. Upon this memorial, they received a confirmation of their liberty, in which they have been protected by the field-marshal general, *De Kalkstein*, as patron of the Bohemian nation, against all the disturbances of the rest of the Bohemians.

§ 165.

IN the year 1748, the ordinary's son-in-law, bishop *Johannes de Watteville*, having visited the congregations in England, went, with his consort, on a visitation to America. One of his first businesses was, to take a journey to *Schomako*, where, at that time, some Brethren lived with the sachem (chief) of the Oneiders, *Schikellimi*, (§ 104.) and made it their concern to promote the work of God among the Indians. With a view to visit all the places in the Indian country, where the Brethren had preached hitherto, and to bring the gospel to the Indians, he continued his journey up the *Susquehannah*, as far as *Wayomik*.

After a synod held at *Bethlehem* in October, he made a journey, with the co-bishop *Cammerhof*, from the 4th to the 31st of December, to the Indians, who, since the emigration from *Chekomakah*, (§ 139.) were scattered on the frontiers of the province of New York and of New England; and had  
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the good fortune to meet with almost all of them in their dwellings and hunting-tents, and to gather them to *Pachgatgoch* and *Wechquatnach*, where some baptized lived together. They acknowledged the damage they had suffered in their dispersion, showed sorrow for their deviations, asked and obtained pardon. As many as were found in a proper state of heart, received the holy communion; and some of the catechumens were admitted to holy baptism. This unexpected favour and encouragement renewed their confidence, and they determined, partly, to move to their Brethren at *Gnadenhuetten*, in Pennsylvania, and partly, to continue together at *Wechquatnach* and *Pachgatgoch*, where they were visited, from time to time, by a minister; as was the case in the spring following, when twenty of them received holy baptism together. From that time, a Brother generally lived with them. When one of them, *David Bruce*, departed this life, his funeral sermon was preached by an Indian helper, in the presence of many white people, to whom the deceased brother had also proved a blessing. Some Indians, likewise, baptized by the Presbyterians, asked leave to move to *Gnadenhuetten*; but only a few of them could be admitted.

In the year 1749, fifty-seven Indians were present at the synod held at Bethlehem. Ten Indians, two Negroes, and eleven grown white persons of such persuasions, as have not infant-baptism, were baptized at that time. After this, *Johannes de Watteville* visited the country-congregations, and went, in April, on a visitation of the mission among the Negroes in *St. Thomas*. In the mean time, bishop *John Nitschmann* came from Europe with an hundred and twenty Brethren and Sisters, who increased the congregations at *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth*, and the smaller colonies, at *Gnadenhal*, *Christiansbrunn*, and *Gnadenhuetten* on the Mahony, and began the new colony at *Friedenshal*. At the return of *Johannes de Watteville* to Europe, in autumn 1749, the Indian congregation amounted to five hundred. Most of them

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were of the *Mabikanders* and *Delawares*. Among the latter, a great emotion of grace took place in the year 1748. There were also many of those called *Highlanders*, some *Wampanoes*, and a firstling of the cruel *Schawanoes* among them. The work of God, since that time, has continued in blessing, and extended to *Wajomik*, and farther up the Indian country along the *Susquehannah*. Many came from thence, in the year 1750, on a visit to *Bethlehem*, to hear the gospel; and were also visited by the Brethren *John Frederic Cammerhof* and *David Zeisberger*, on their way, as deputies to *Onondago*, and to other chief towns of the Six Nations. Many also of those that lived among the white people in the *Ferseys*, came to the Brethren.

§ 166.

NOT far from *Gnadenhuetten* there was an Indian town, *Meniologomekah*, in which the ordinary had made a visit in the year 1742. (§ 102.) The inhabitants, of the nation of the *Delawares*, often meeting with the Indian Brethren, when they were out a hunting, heard occasionally a testimony of Jesus, and frequented the preaching at *Gnadenhuetten*, by which means an emotion took place in that town. In the year 1748, the first-fruits, *Christian Renatus*, was baptized, and moved to *Gnadenhuetten*. The Indians on the *Susquehannah* did not like it; and a prophet arose among them, who pretended he had been in heaven, had spoken with God, learned many mysteries, and had been taught the way how they might come to God. This way consisted in a morality not despicable, according to the Indian manner of life. He, withal, warned the Indians against all commerce with the white people, and against their doctrine of the way of salvation. He gained many adherents, and sent his messengers to many places, to spread his doctrine. One of them preached also in *Meniologomekah*, and came with his followers to *Gnadenhuetten*, in order to draw off  
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the believing Indians from the Brethren. After they had heard his message, the before-mentioned Christian Renatus asked, "How the God looked, that appeared to the Indian prophet? and whether he had wounds?" No, answered he; he had heard nothing of that. "Then," replied our Indian, "it is not the true God, but the devil\*." The messenger, confounded at this answer, went into the meeting of the Brethren, and, having had the way of salvation farther explained to him by the Indians, according to their own experience, spread it abroad in the whole country. Thus the design of the pretended prophet was frustrated. A solid awakening commenced in Meniolagomekah, and this messenger was the first that was baptized. The chief of the town followed him, and in a few years there were not many who were not baptized. They got a teacher from Bethlehem, and regularly received baptism and the Lord's supper at Gnadenhuetten. But the land being sold in the mean time, they were obliged to leave it in 1754. Most of them moved to Gnadenhuetten; but some were dispersed among the savages, among whom they, by word and walk, caused a blessed emotion in several places; but were, by degrees, again entangled in many improper things, and thus suffered damage in their own souls.

### § 167.

THE missionary *Frederic Martin* was, in the year 1747, in Europe, on a visit from *St. Thomas*, and obtained at Copenhagen, on presenting a memorial to the king, a Royal rescript, of August the 18th, 1747, to the West India

\* Just so, bishop *Martin of Tours* is said to have answered a spectre, that pretended to be the glorified Jesus, and required the honour of worship from him. The Indian had certainly never read or heard this. The answer flowed from his own heart, and was agreeable to the revelation according to the gospel. *They shall look upon me, whom they have pierced.* Zech. xii. 10. John xix. 37.



company, That the Brethren should carry on the mission among the Negroes in the three Danish islands, *St. Thomas*, *St. Croix*, and *St. Jan*, without molestation, and be protected by the government of these islands. At the same time, it was ordered, how things should be managed, with respect to supplying the place of the chief missionary, upon his decease; as also with regard to his adjunct, the deacons, and other assistants. In the year 1748, *Frederic Martin* returned thither, with some new assistants, but he was carried by French privateers into *Martinico*, yet soon set at liberty again. In the spring of 1749, bishop *Johannes de Watteville* came on a visitation to *St. Thomas*. He found that, for some years, the first fire of the awakening had abated, and but few Negroes had attained to holy baptism; that even many of the baptized had lost their confidence, being treated with too great rigour, and that the Brethren had, in some measure, lost their courage, and were grown remiss in carrying on the work of the Lord. But, since *Frederic Martin's* return, a new work of grace had taken place among the Negroes. It was, therefore, determined to treat the backsliders in an evangelical way; and, if they were heartily concerned for their deviations, to receive them again under their care and into their fellowship. By this means, an universal emotion was occasioned among the baptized, which spread itself even among the unbaptized catechumens, nay, among the Negroes all over the island. The meetings were attended every evening by between two and three hundred Negroes, and on Sundays, by between eight and nine hundred. On one congregation-day only, three hundred and eighty Negroes came, and desired that their names might be inserted in the list of the catechumens. At the end of the visitation, the number of unbaptized catechumens, who were visited and instructed by the Brethren, besides between two and three hundred children, amounted to nine hundred persons. The old, blind, and lame came creeping a great way, to be made partakers of holy baptism. During the eight weeks of this visitation,

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above an hundred were baptized on the Negro-congregation-days. A congregation-day is held every four weeks, and not readily neglected by any one. On these days, besides the public preaching, particular discourses are delivered to the catechumens, the candidates for baptism, the baptized, the candidates for the Lord's supper, and the communicants. Many, besides, pour out their hearts in private conversations with the missionaries; and the Brethren, who serve the Negro-congregation, have often so little time on such days, that they can scarcely take any refreshment at all, till late at night. Then, also unbaptized mothers bring their newborn infants into the meeting, to be blessed by the missionary with laying on of hands, and thus received into the care of the Brethren. The missionaries had hitherto entertained scruples concerning baptizing Negro-children; but now it was resolved to baptize the children of the baptized soon after their birth, and to bless only the children of such parents as were not yet baptized. Johannes de Watteville went for some days to *St Croix*, where, at that time, no missionary lived; but, nevertheless, the Negro-congregation was taken care of by some faithful and experienced helpers from among the Negroes. He also made a visit in *St Jan*, where, for some years past, no missionary could live. The congregation there, which had consisted of three hundred Negroes, was dwindled away to fifteen. But measures were taken to supply both islands with missionaries; and, before the year was elapsed, an account was received of an hundred and fifty Negroes hearing the gospel in *St Jan*. The governor of *St Thomas*, and most of the owners of those Negroes, who attended the preaching of the Brethren, behaved, during the visitation, in a very friendly manner, gave good testimonies of their Negroes baptized by the Brethren, and begged earnestly, that the vacancies of the missionaries and their assistants, occasioned by death, might be speedily supplied again. In the seventeen years of this mission, near forty of the Brethren and Sisters sent thither were fallen asleep; and, in

1750, the missionary *Frederic Martin* followed them, having, in a continually weak and sickly habit of body, preached the gospel in St. Thomas fifteen years with blessing, and having made the beginning with the same in St. Croix, and St. Jan. The number of those that were baptized in that time, besides the children, amounted to above four hundred souls, of whom fifty and upwards were gone into eternity before him.

§ 168.

AFTER the Brethren had removed from *Surinam*, in the year 1745, some to *Pennsilvania*, some to *Berbice*, there remained five Brethren and a few Sisters in *Berbice*, now near eight years, without any visible blessing. They lived in great poverty, every thing in these parts being much dearer, than in Europe. They managed their plantation with their own hands; for they could keep no Negroes; and endeavoured to earn a little of the Europeans by their handiwork. They found no entrance among the Indians that live in the neighbourhood of the colonies, and understand some Dutch; and could not speak with the savages living at a greater distance. Providence pointed out a way to them, which they did not understand at first. Some Europeans desired them to take and educate their Mulatto-children, that is, those whose mothers were Indians; but this they did not like to meddle with. However, in the year 1741, they had taken a boy, of whom they learned, in a few years, so much of the language of the *Arawaks*, that they were able, with his help, to write down a summary of the Christian doctrine. With this writing a Brother ventured, from time to time, among the Heathen, sought them out in the vast wilderness, in a compass of three hundred English miles, from one place to another, and, having saluted them kindly, read

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this writing to them, spoke upon it as well as he was able, and accompanied all with prayer and tears. As little as the Indians might understand of it at first, yet the behaviour of the Brethren pleased them, and they liked their visits. But as the female savages are used to run away, when strange men appear, so now a Sister also was obliged always to go with them. Such journeys were indeed very difficult. The Brethren were obliged to take their provisions with them every where, hang their hammocks for sleeping, for the most part, on trees in the wilderness, wade through broad rivers, or make in a hurry a float to ferry over, and often to go some miles before they met with an house. But the advantage of the Brethren's labour and pains, which at first seemed foolish, soon appeared. The Indians were desirous of more acquaintance with these white people, who behaved so kindly and discreetly, and wished to understand their words. They visited the Brethren. The Spirit of the Lord came upon the Mulatto-boy, and he spoke to the hearts of the savages in a striking manner. They were powerfully affected, and spread abroad the word they had heard from the Brethren, who now learned, better and better, to speak with them. More came to hear them, nor did the Brethren cease to visit them. In the year 1747, some of them built at *Pilgerhut*, near the Brethren, and in spring 1748, the first-fruits of the nation of the *Arawaks* were baptized. These were very old people, who brought their offspring with them to the fifth generation, of whom many were afterwards converted.

The settlement of the Indians with the Brethren was attended with many difficulties. When they left their home, and some of them their nearest relations and friends, and came to the Brethren, they were obliged first to cut down part of the wood, and, when it was dry, to burn it; plant  
*cassabi*;

*cassabi*\*; and, as it requires a whole year before it comes to maturity, to make hard shifts in the mean while. These difficulties prevented many awakened Heathen from leaving the wilderness, so, that in some the good seed was choked, and in others could not spring up soon. But both the baptism and the settlement of the Indians made a stir. Ill-disposed people endeavoured to seduce the Indians, and, when this would not do, to infuse an apprehension into them, that the Brethren intended to make them slaves. To the governor they complained of the concourse of the Indians, as likely to end in a rebellion. When they effected nothing even by this step, a certain clergyman consented to be used for transmitting various accusations against the Brethren to the classis in Holland, which he afterwards repented of.

Before the account of this awakening among the Indians came to the knowledge of the Brethren in Europe, it was thought proper to send a Brother from the seminary thither, who could more easily learn the language. *Theophilus Solomon Schumann*, late a tutor in the Protestant cloister of Bergen, was willing to go to Surinam. At his arrival in autumn 1748, he found above forty baptized. He made such proficiency in the language in one year, as to be able to speak with them without an interpreter, and to translate several portions of the holy scriptures. The number of the baptized now increased greatly. But, in the year 1749, a change took place in the government, which was attended with painful consequences to the mission, as we shall see in the next Part. But, notwithstanding this, the work of God made a blessed progress. For as the Brethren were not allowed any longer to visit in the country of the savages, the baptized and, in part, scattered Indians spread the gospel farther. The Indians of a Spanish province on the river *Ouranouque*, sent a great deputation to *Pil-*

\* *Cassabi* is a root, which, being bruised, and all the poisonous juice pressed out, is dried like meal, and baked into cakes.

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*gerbut*, to enquire more closely into what they had heard concerning the Brethren. The savages on the *Corentyn* did the same. Some staid, and others went to fetch their families. In this manner, the mission was increased, and spread also among the *Aquas*, *Wuraues*, and *Caribbees*.

### § 169.

THE mission in *Greenland* had rest, and made a blessed progress during these years, growing perceptibly, as in inward grace and outward good order, so in number. The missionary, *John Bek*, who had attended, in *Germany*, the printing of some translated hymns, brought, at the year 1747, an house, with a spacious meeting-hall, ready framed in *Holland*, to *New Herrnhut*, the house, built in 1733, having long ago been too small. *Matthew Stach*, with five *Greenlanders*, went with the same ship on a visit to the congregations in *Europe*, and was present at the commission in *Gross Hennersdorf*. Of these *Greenlanders*, *Simon Arbalik*, and, soon after, his wife, *Sarah Puffmeh*, departed this life, and were interred in the burying-ground of the congregation at *Herrnhut*. With the three others, who were single, *Judith Iffek*, *Matthew Kajarnak*, and *Johanan Angusina*, (the last of whom was admitted to baptism in the congregation at *Herrnhag*,) *Matthew Stach* went, in 1749, with the company mentioned in § 165, to *Pennsylvania*, and from thence to *Greenland*, on board the snow *Irene*, which the Brethren had built at *New York* for the more easy conveyance of their colonists to the American settlements. Thus, the Brethren at *Bethlehem* had the joy, as it was expressed in the *Philadelphia* news-paper, to see together Indians of three very different nations and tongues, but of like aspect, and of the same faith, viz. *Arawaks*, of the sixth degree of southern latitude, (this was the Mulatto of *Berbice*, mentioned in the preceding section, and another young female Indian,) *Mainanders* and *Delawares*, of the

the forty-first, and *Greenlanders* of the sixty-fifth, degrees of northern latitude. This voyage to Greenland in a foreign ship occasioned a complaint at Copenhagen, which was the means of procuring, in the year 1750, a Royal regulative, with respect to the passage of the Brethren to and from Greenland, which proved a benefit to the mission of the Brethren, and cut off a variety of difficulties which they before laboured under. In the year 1751, the missionary, *Frederic Boomsch*, who was come from Greenland in 1749, returned thither. On the other hand, the missionary, *Matthew Stach*, came away with his family, and sought an opportunity in London to go to the *Esquimaux*, in Terra Labrador. The Danish missionary, *Christian Laurence Drachart*, who had laboured with much blessing in his congregation above ten years in the Danish colony and mission at *Godbaab*, (or, *Goodhope*,) in exemplary harmony with the Brethren, went away with him, having before deposited the remains of his wife, as of the first European Sister, in the burying-ground of New Herrnhut, brought his children into the institutions at Herrnhut, and staid there himself with the king's consent. The congregation in Greenland, at the departure of the missionary Stach, amounted to upwards of three hundred baptized, forty of whom were already with the Lord; and about an hundred communicants. An inconceivable blessing for twelve years, considering the fewness, savageness, and stupidity of this nation, of which a farther account is given in the *History of Greenland*.

§ 170.

THE Brethren had many years wished to bring the gospel to the *Gebri*, or *Gauri*, in *Persia*, on the borders of *Inaof-tan*, who are taken to be remnants of the Magi, or wise-men from the East, Matt. ii. (§ 86. N°. 37.) In those countries, no foreigners find their maintenance better, than those who make profession of physic. The physi-

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cian *Hakker*, and the surgeon *Rueffer*, were willing to go upon this undertaking, and were confirmed in it at the synod of Zeist. They travelled, in the spring of the year 1747, through Switzerland and Italy, to Leghorn; from thence, over the Mediterranean sea, to Alexandretta in Syria, and then by land to Aleppo, by way of Antioch. At Aleppo they heard of Schach Nadir's cruelties and death, and of the intestine broils which arose since. Notwithstanding this, they proceeded on their journey, partly by land with a caravan, and partly by water, to Bagdad. At the entrance into Persia, they were attacked by the *Curdi*, a thievish people. Their safeguard being dispersed, they were plundered, dangerously wounded, and almost stripped naked, and suffered greatly from the heat by day, from the cold by night, from hunger and thirst, and other hardships. In the beginning of November they were again attacked, and robbed of the little that was left, or bestowed upon, them by compassionate Mussulmen. In this condition they reached *Ispahan*, the metropolis of Persia, and were kindly received by some Europeans. The English consul took great pains to help them again to what they had lost, after the robbers were beaten, and their booty taken from them; and they were upon the point of receiving again part of it: but another revolution deprived them of all. By money which some Englishmen there advanced them, and by practising in their profession, they were enabled to proceed on their journey. But certain news being received, that the *Gebri* were partly killed in the last war, partly dispersed, and the rest compelled to embrace the Mahometan religion; they determined to return. In June 1748, they left *Ispahan*, and staid a while at *Bassora*, having been again plundered by the way. Here an opportunity offered of going to Ceylon. *Hokker* had a great inclination for it. But as *Rueffer* was very desirous to return to his Brethren, they continued their journey, by way of Bagdad, to Aleppo. After long waiting for a ship bound to Europe, they went to Egypt. In  
*Damietta,*



*Damiata*, Rueffer was taken sick, fell asleep July the 26th, 1748, and was interred in the burying-ground of the Greeks. Hokkei pursued his journey alone, and returned to Herrnhag, February the 8th, 1750, having spent almost three years on this troublesome pilgrimage.

§ 171.

, WILL at present say no more of the work of the Lord in the Christian religions in Europe, than that the awakening among the Esthonian and Lettonian nations in *Livonia*, in which God had made use of the Brethren, (§ 70, and 116.) continued with blessing. The good testimonies which some noblemen delivered of their subjects at the Imperial court, the approbation given by a church-visitation of a certain parish, where the minister laboured with very great blessing, and the deputy *Arvid Gradin's* imprisonment of near four years, were the means which God made use of, for procuring rest to this awakening.

Gradin, who, in the year 1743, was deputed with a writing to the synod of the Russian church, (§ 117.) was, at his first coming to Petersburg, arrested, strictly examined, and, not till thirteen weeks after, bailed out of his close confinement. The writing to the synod, together with the minutes of his examination, and a memorial addressed by him to the government of the Russian empire, were sent in, and, after proper inspection, delivered to the synod; which, though it did not chuse to meddle with the desired examination, yet is said to have represented the matter to the empress in a favourable light. June the 21st, 1744, the deputy had a private interview with a member of the synod, the learned archimandrite and bishop of *Pleskov and Narva, Theodosky*, concerning his affair; and learned so much from him, that the synod could not con-

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cern itself in the cause of the Brethren, not being of their church; but with respect to their doctrine, looked upon them to be Lutherans. He himself had found no difference in their writings from the Lutherans, except that they had a church-discipline, such as Luther had wished for, but did not bring to effect. Therefore he had replied to such as endeavoured to bring about their expulsion out of the country: 'If the Brethren were forced to leave the country on account of their doctrine, all Lutherans must.' The above-mentioned writing to the synod, together with the records, the writings taken from the ordinary at Riga, with a memorial to the empress, (§ 111) the acts of the Livonian commission, and the reports of the registry of that country, were, by order from the empress, delivered into the Imperial cabinet, where the matter rested.

As to the arrest, the Brethren *Conrad Lange*, *Zacharias Hirsibel*, and *Michael Kund*, who solicited for passports to China, and to the Calmucs, but were arrested as suspected persons, (§ 130.) after a strict examination, had obtained liberty, on bail, to live together in one house, and work at their trades. *Gradin* also, after many vicissitudes, obtained leave, in July 1746, to live with them. He had especially frequent opportunities to insinuate into many principal members of the Imperial boards a true idea of the cause of the Brethren. Moreover, these prisoners proved a real blessing to many foreigners settled there, who were concerned for their salvation. By their recommendation, the French Reformed minister, *Jeremias Risler*, was called thither from Lubec, though some ill-disposed people endeavoured to prevent it. He preached the gospel there with blessing, and was of great service to the Brethren who were afterwards imprisoned; until, in the year 1761, he was called to be the minister of the French congregation

congregation of the Brethren at *New Wied*. After many fruitless attempts, these four Brethren, in February 1747, obtained liberty to return to their friends in Germany. After staying a quarter of a year longer in Petersburg, they, with an Imperial pass, given them without fee, entered upon their return by way of Livonia; where, after a friendly interview with the governor general at Riga, they obtained a new passport to Germany.

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PART VII.

*From the Ordinary's last Journey to England in 1751,  
to his Return to Germany in 1755.*

§ 172.

AFTER the ordinary had finished the negotiations in Saxony, had given his advice and assistance with respect to the emigration of the congregation from Herrnhag, and especially the repartition of the œconomies, and the internal hurts of the congregation having been remedied by the restitution of the simple doctrine of the merits of Jesus; the ordinary, in the summer of 1751, went again to *England*, in order to lend an helping hand, both to the American colonies and missions, and to the European congregations. He went by way of *Barby* and *Eberdorf*. In the former place he was usefully employed with the seminary. In the latter, he attempted, once more, with the reigning count *Henry XXIV Reusi*, to settle this congregation of the Brethren on the foot of the  
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the Lutheran tropus; (§ 132.) held, with the labourers of this and other congregations, a synodal conference, and closed his present labour in Germany, with a farewell-discourse. On the 21st of July, he proceeded on his journey, in the company of count Henry XXVIII. Reufs, and his lady, through Franconia, Suabia, Switzerland, and France. He made no stay any where but at *Montmirail*, in the principality of *Neufchattel*, an estate of baron *De Watteville*, senior, where some Brethren and friends in Switzerland were gathered together, who desired to enjoy his conversation. The 24th of August, he arrived at *London*. He took an house of a prebendary, in the cloisters of Westminster-abbey, for the proper reception of persons of distinction in church and state, with whom he had to confer; till the earl of *Lindsey's* old house in *Chelsea*, purchased and intended to be repaired for him and his family, could be made ready.

One principal view the ordinary had with his residence in England, at that time, was, to draw himself, by degrees, out of the temporal concerns of the Unity, and, dividing them into several departments, to commit them to the care of some sensible and faithful men: but, with regard to himself, to be a disciple of the Lord, whose chief business should be to labour in stillness for the inward growth of the congregations. For this end, he called his only son, *Christian Renatus*, from Herrnhut, in order to use him as his right hand and assistant in inward matters. But this noble soul, entirely captivated with the love of Jesus, and living in the enjoyment of his atonement, whose character may be gathered, in some measure, from his poetical *Soliloquies* and *Meditations*, composed after the late fasting, which were afterwards found, and printed, on the 28th of May, 1752, took its flight, in Westminster-abbey, out of its tabernacle, enfeebled by much labour, and a violent spitting of blood, to the most sensible grief, not only of the choirs of the single Brethren, whom he had faithfully served for some

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years,

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years, but also of all the congregations, who had promised themselves much blessing from his future service.

### § 173.

BEFORE I proceed farther, I must recite some particulars of the labour of the Brethren in *England, Ireland, and America*, to the year 1752.

At *London*, the labourers made use of the advice and assistance of the ordinary and his house, and continued the preaching of the gospel in the Brethren's chapels in *Fetter Lane* and *White's Alley*, with blessing. The congregation had rest, and was edified. Indeed, an adverse theological Opinion, sent over from Germany, was put into the hands of some bishops; and an extract of some German controversial and, in part, libellous writings appeared in a French monthly pamphlet. The former made but little impression, as the cause of the Brethren had been solidly examined not long before. The latter was irrefragably refuted by a letter from Sir *Luke Schaub*, a gentleman well known to the world by his embassies, to the authors of the monthly pamphlet, which they inserted entire, with a proper recantation.

At *Bedford*, a chapel was built for the preaching of the gospel, and consecrated in the year 1751. By degrees, some houses were built near it. The labourers, residing here, preached also in several neighbouring places, and ministered unto the awakened souls in societies. The ordinary, in October 1751, made a visit in this quiet place, to mutual satisfaction. In the rest of the congregations, in *England* and *Ireland*, bishop *Johannes de Watteville* held a visitation in autumn 1751, and the year following, the co-bishop, *Peter Boehler*. At *Ockbrook*, where, in 1750, a Brethren's congregation was regulated, the settlement of some families of those parts, on a piece of land adjoining to the Brethren's chapel, bought for the purpose, had occasioned some dissatisfaction

satisfaction to the parish-officers; but this affair was amicably adjusted in 1752. The Brethren's congregation at *Fulneck*, in *Yorkshire*, increased gradually both in persons and houses. The great awakening in this country was established by a better regulation of the societies; and, in some places, chapels were built. This was the case at *Gummer-sal*, *Mirfield*, and *Wyke*, and at *Duckenfield* in *Cheshire*. At *Tetberton*, in *Wiltshire*, where a congregation of the Brethren had been settled in the year 1748, some persons lived together in the neighbourhood of the chapel, and called their land, *Lambacre*. Besides these, the Brethren preached in other places; and, among the rest, at *Bristol*, and to the colliers at *Kingwood*; which gave occasion to a blessed acquaintance at *Bath*, and in the principality of *Wales*.

At *Dublin*, the congregation increased much; but, through the incautiousness and precipitancy of the labourers at that time, many were received into the congregation, who, afterwards, caused the Brethren much pain and trouble.

In the *North of Ireland*, the great concourse of hearers, which had been used to accompany the preachers by hundreds, from one place to another, began to abate a little; and now the awakened souls could be divided into societies, and enjoy the benefit of a wholesome care of their souls, according to their situation. They met no longer, as they formerly did, in the fields; but, at first, fitted up rooms and barns for their meeting-places, and then began to build chapels. The archbishop of *Armagh* was so far from laying any obstacles in their way, that he rather spoke well of them to such as asked his opinion concerning the Brethren; and himself offered them land for a settlement.

§ 174.

IN *Pennsylvania*, the co-bishop, *John Frederic Cammerhof*, departed this life, on the 28th of April, 1751. *Matthew Gottfried Hehl*, A. M. of *Tuebingen*, formerly inspector of

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the schools and institutions at Herrnhut, was chosen in his stead, and consecrated a co-bishop, on the 24th of September, 1751, in the Brethren's chapel at London. He, together with more assistants, presently after set sail for Pennsylvania, in the company of bishop *Spangenberg*, who had again been invested with the direction of the work of God among Christians and Heathens in America, after *John Nitschmann* had returned to Europe. *Hibl* took upon himself, in particular, the inspection and visitation of the country-congregations, and gave direction to their labourers, in what manner the children might be properly taken care of and instructed, the parents living dispersed in the country, and some at a very great distance from the church, scattered in the woods. That this might be brought into, and maintained in, good order, *John Michael Graff*, one of the itinerant preachers, who had formerly been a labourer in the school-institutions at *Jena*, was particularly commissioned to visit, from time to time, through the whole country, and to give the labourers proper directions for the instruction of the children. At times also some single Brethren, and, in company of the co-bishop and his wife, a single Sister, visited the Brethren and Sisters of their respective choirs in the country, and made it their concern to attend the good of their souls. About this time, there was a great awakening in the country, especially among the children, who came diligently to school, by which means, even many grown persons were stirred up to a greater concern, both for their own salvation, and that of the people belonging to them, and to seek the fellowship of the Brethren. But, as not all that desired it could be received into the Brethren's congregation, at a visitation in the country, in the year 1753, societies, like those in England, were settled, in order to minister to the awakened in the gospel.

The congregations at *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth* increased greatly about this time, and attracted the attention of the whole country. In the year 1753, the strangers were numbered,



bered, who came merely to see the Brethren and their settlements, as also the institutions for the education of children, which were a wonder to every one; and their number amounted to above a thousand white people and Indians.

In the province of *New York* and in *New England*, where, formerly, the Brethren had suffered much, (§ 137.) they were now invited to preach. In the city of *New York* itself they built a church; and the evangelical testimony and exemplary walk of those Brethren, who, as missionaries, ministered in the gospel to the Indians at *Pachgatgoch* and *Wechquatnach* in *New England*, left a good impression in those parts. Their white neighbours in *Duchess-county*, in *New York* government, begged for and obtained a minister from *Bethlehem*.

In general, a better disposition in the inhabitants of the American provinces towards the Brethren began to appear about this time. In *Lancaster*, six years before, at a provincial synod, in the year 1745, the Brethren's lives were not safe, and stones flew about *Spangenberg's* head, as he was preaching upon the text of the day, *Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.* (Luke xxiii. 34.) A justice of the peace, being present, expected that he would be very zealous against the ungodly people; but when he, instead of that, prayed for them, it proved a means of the conversion of the justice, and the enemies ceased to rage. Since then, in the year 1746, a fine church and school-house have been built in this town; and, in 1753, a provincial synod being held here, many of the former enemies of the Brethren heard the same Brother preach with attention.

The blessing of God was also perceptible in the outward concerns of the Brethren at *Bethlehem*, which enabled them to support the work of God among Christians and Heathens, besides their numerous institutions for educating children. In the year 1754, there being a great dearth in these parts, they were able to sell bread to many of their

poor neighbours at a very reasonable price, and heard praises given to the Father in heaven for it.

The good œconomy of the Brethren, and their diligence at work, served as a good example for the neighbours to imitate. An hundred thousand acres of land, on the *Ohio*, were offered to them on reasonable terms, and four thousand acres in *Ulster*-county, in New York government, were offered them *gratis*, because it was believed, the Brethren would, by their good management, encourage others to settle near them. But the Brethren, for good reasons, could make no use of these overtures.

How the missions among the Indians in North America, in Berbice in South America, and among the Negroes in the Caribbee islands, were carried on, I will relate hereafter, for the sake of the connexion.

#### § 175.

AT the synod at *Barby*, in the year 1750, a visitation of the mission in *Greenland* was resolved upon; to which, bishop *Johannes de Watteville* was appointed. He went thither in 1752, accompanied by the eldest missionary in *Greenland*, *Matthew Stach*, who had been waiting, in vain, at *London* for the opening of a door to the *Esquimaux* in *Terra Labrador*. (§ 169.) According to his own diary, an extract of which is inserted in the *History of Greenland*, in the said year, he sailed from *Copenhagen*, April the 28th, 1752, and, after no small danger in the drift-ice, reached *New Herrnhut* in *Greenland*, on the 13th of June. The *Greenland*-congregation was, at his arrival, dispersed in their providing-places, as usual in summer; but by degrees they all came to *New Herrnhut*, and often a great number together; so that *Johannes* (to whom the *Greenlanders* gave the surname of *Affarsok*, that is, *The loving*,) had an opportunity, by an interpreter, to speak with them all singly, and to deliver to  
them

them some discourses, and homilies to the different choirs. He himself performed two baptismal acts, and held the Lord's Supper twice; as also some congregation-days for all the people, on which he gave them a verbal account of the missions among other Heathens. He ordained the assistant of the mission, *John Soerensen*, a deacon of the Brethren's church, added more helpers from among the natives, to those already appointed, gave them the necessary instructions, and appointed some of them to deliver, from time to time, public discourses. Moreover, he brought the church-register into proper order, and, with the assistance of the missionaries, revised the hymns translated into the Greenlandish language. In order to take a view of the outward labour and maintenance, both of the Brethren and the Greenlanders, he went with the missionaries to their providing-places, visited the Heathen in the islands, and had many conversations with the passing and re-passing Southlanders, concerning the state of the country and nation, and the salvation purchased for them also, and now tendered unto them. August the 12th, he entered on his return, and, having endured a storm of five days continuance, arrived safe and well at Copenhagen, October the 4th. He had left at New Herrnhut about three hundred baptized, among whom were an hundred and twenty communicants, besides upwards of thirty catechumens; and fifty-three baptized were already at home with the Lord. About the same number were baptized in this year only, and forty persons had died in the Lord. In the year 1753, the congregation was increased with sixty-seven new inhabitants, and the year following with forty-eight baptized. On the other hand, by means of an infectious sickness, fifty-four Greenlanders, and among them the best providers and heads of families, were translated into eternity. Thus, many widows and orphans came into the utmost misery; but were provided for, by being divided among other families, and

by prudent management; so that none suffered want, or were neglected.

§ 176.

THE Brethren in Greenland had been long of opinion, that the Greenlanders came from North America, and that probably some *Karalit* (so the Greenlanders call themselves) were still there. They, therefore, often showed a desire to bring the gospel to them. For this purpose, *Matthew Stach* sought an opportunity, though in vain, to get to *Hudson's Bay*. This occasioned some Brethren at London, in company with other well-disposed merchants, to fit out a trading vessel for the coast of *Terra Labrador*. As, in the meantime, *Matthew Stach* was gone to Greenland again, they requested the ordinary to send some Brethren with them, to preach the gospel to the Heathen. A Dutch mate, *Christian Erhard*, who had several times been in *Davis's Straits* on the whale-fishery, and had visited at New Herrnhut, where he had learned some Greenlandish words, and now lived in the Brethren's congregation at Zeist, offered himself to go, and four Brethren were willing to settle in the country, and learn the language, in order to promote the conversion of the Heathen. The ordinary showed some uneasiness concerning this undertaking, since interested views were connected with it; which, as he had already observed in some unsuccessful attempts, generally prove an injury to the missions. He was, however, not willing to hinder this attempt. The four Brethren took with them an house ready framed, a boat, all kinds of implements, and seeds, for the cultivation of the land. They sailed from London, the 17th of May, 1752, and entered, on the 31st of July, into a fine bay, on the coast of *Terra Labrador*, which, from one of the owners of the ship, is still called, *Nisbet's Haven*. Here they resolved to settle, and began to make preparation for their support. They called their house, *Hoffenthal*, or,  
The

*The valley of hope.* Erhard, on September the 5th, went with the ship farther northward upon traffic, and could make himself tolerably understood by the Esquimaux; but was seduced by them, being afraid to come on board, on account of the arms, to go to them, in an unarmed boat, with five men more, into a bay between the islands, to trade, from whence he never returned. The ship, having no other boat, could not sail in quest of them, and was necessitated to return to the Brethren. The captain represented to them his distress, that, having lost his best men and the boat, he was not able to navigate the ship; and desired them to return with him. They, therefore, though with regret, left their house, in hopes of taking possession of it again next year, and returned to England, where they arrived about the end of November. The ordinary, who thanked God heartily for the safe return of these four Brethren, was scrupulous of permitting them to go again thither, till an account should be received, whether the missing people were still alive, and the house standing. The ship, sailing thither the next year, brought word, that some bodies of the murdered persons had been found, which they buried. The house was found standing, by the crew of another ship; but, soon after, advice was received, that it was destroyed too. This undertaking, therefore, was postponed for another time.

## § 177.

We will now turn back to England, and begin with the year 1753. This was a severely trying year for the ordinary and his fellow-labourers; since the external affairs of the Brethren, in England, were involved in very difficult circumstances. The public being acquainted with this event in part, but in a very false manner, I think it incumbent upon me, to give a faithful and just relation of it. In order to afford the reader a clear and true insight into this matter, I find it necessary first to give a concise and authentic account of the ma-

nagement of the economical concerns in the congregations, missions, and colonies of the Brethren.

Undoubtedly, every attentive reader of this History has been frequently induced to ask, How was it possible to defray all the unavoidable expences, which must necessarily have attended all these works of the Lord, which have been brought to bear within these thirty years? Vast sums must have been required and expended, for receiving, and providing for, such a number of emigrants out of Moravia; for building and settling the congregation-place, *Herrnhut*, and, in the sequel, for erecting and establishing so many other congregation-places and colonies in Europe and America; for undertaking and supporting so many missions among the Heathen, in all the four quarters of the globe; for performing almost numberless journeys, and far more than a thousand longer and shorter voyages in the service of the kingdom of Jesus among Christians and Heathens, many of which journeys and voyages were made by very numerous companies; for maintaining the seminary, the *pædagogium*, and the very considerable institutions for the education of children, in which, from the beginning, the board was paid but for very few; for erecting, and properly regulating, the choir houses in the congregation-places, and for advancing the sums required, in most places, for the establishment of the requisite businesses and handicrafts in the choir-houses; for supporting the pilgrim-house, or, the frequently very numerous companies of Brethren and Sisters, some going to, some coming back from, their stations, which, since the exile of the ordinary, must be provided for by him; for the maintaining the ministers and labourers in most of the congregations, and of their widows and orphans out of all the congregations and missions, who were to be taken care of, since their fathers had no salaries, or any way of laying up for, or leaving any thing to, them; for so many deputations to courts of kings and princes, and to their ministers, which were undertaken, partly with a view to

\* to lead the work of God, among Christians and Heathens, into a proper and regular channel, and partly to plead the cause of it; for the necessary visitations and messages, for keeping up a very extensive correspondence with all the congregations and missions, and a connexion with many friends, and others, in the Christian religions; and for many other exigences, unavoidable in a work of God of such vast extent, and too numerous to be specified here.

I will answer this important question historically, according to truth, partly from the intelligence I have received of the matter, by a strict enquiry of such as, from the beginning, were engaged in it, and partly from my own knowledge of it, since the year 1740, when I came into the seminary of the Brethren.

#### § 178.

At the first beginning of the building of Herrnhut, the ordinary and his lady devoted all their substance, excepting what was absolutely necessary for their own support, to the use of the cause of God, having solemnly engaged themselves to support it to the utmost of their power. In the beginning, they were strengthened by the assistance of some of their relations and other friends. But as this assistance was subject to many vicissitudes, and soon ceased entirely; they resolved to risk their whole real and personal estate in supporting and promoting this new work of God, which, by the hand of Providence, was extended so far. The ordinary did not chuse to seek any help by means of collections, otherwise usual in case of emigrations, missions among the Heathen, orphan-houses, and the like pious institutions; though he and his consort did not disapprove of this method, when used by others; and themselves continued, upon this or the other occasion, to contribute to such collections. A chief reason, why he did not chuse that method, was, that other undertakings might not suffer by it. In establishing

new colonies and Heathen-missions, he never sought any pecuniary assistance from government; and when such was offered by patrons of high rank, he modestly declined it, for very good reasons. His determination, in this case, was, to look with faith to the bounteous hand of the Lord, to manage, in the most frugal manner, his own income, and what was freely contributed by Brethren of substance, and by friends, of their own free impulse; and whenever this did not suffice, to borrow what was required upon his estates.

He committed to his lady the care of the external affairs. This truly great lady, whose benevolence and excellent œconomical talents will ever remain in blessed remembrance in the Brethren's congregations, supported the pious views of her consort, among other things, by so wise and decent a regulation in her domestic affairs, as to render them more subservient to the cause of the Lord, than to her noble family. For she, in the beginning, took into her service such labourers and helpers of the congregation at Herin hut, as could not maintain themselves; and afterwards, from time to time, such persons as devoted themselves to the work of God among Christians and Heathens. Her sole view herein was, to support them with what was needful. Thus, this noble family could not but be acknowledged an house of God in truth. This was also the foundation of the *Congregation and Pilgrim House*, (mentioned in § 69 and 121,) in which all the servants of the church of the Brethren had, as it were, their home; the support of which, with the most frugal management, required great sums. For when the ordinary, in the year 1736, was obliged to go into exile, and to turn his back, not only, upon his estates, but also, for a time, upon his family; and was, at the same time, under a necessity of having with him the needful assistants, to carry on the work of God, which now first rightly began to prosper and to spread; (§ 86.) the expences also increased by degrees in such a manner, that they were often reduced to great straits; especially since the reproach attending



tending his exile had, the bad effect upon some, otherwise well-disposed, persons, that they forsook him, and called in their capitals, advanced at the heavy interest of six *per cent.* But Providence furnished him with the unexpected means of alleviating the burden, several Brethren and friends in Holland offering, of their own free motion, a loan at three *per cent.* to pay off the capitals lent upon the estates of his lady, at such an high interest. The countess accepted this kind offer, as a means put into her hands by divine Providence, at once to satisfy her creditors, some of whom were grown impatient and unfriendly; and to provide for her household, which she had begun for the service of the kingdom of God, with the part of the annual revenues of her estates thus saved, which she, hitherto, had been obliged to give to strangers.

When the aforesaid Brethren in Holland, and some others, determined to contribute something for the service of the congregations of the Brethren and their colonies, missions, and institutions, in order, thus to afford some alleviation to the supporting the cause of the Lord; a board of faithful and understanding men was established, by the name of, *The general Diacony*, who should have the management of these free contributions, and, jointly with the countess, provide for the necessities of the church of the Brethren in all its branches, in a way worthy of the gospel, and suited to the nature of the cross's kingdom of Christ. This regulation flourished for several years in blessing; and, by a frugal and sparing œconomy, with which, however, every one was satisfied, was crowned with many demonstrations of the power of God.

§ 179.

AFTER the return of the ordinary from America, in the  
occasioned alter-  
Brethren, and  
conical affairs.  
Business

Business heaping more than ever, it required more hands, and caused many journeys to places at smaller or greater distances. In some countries, the Brethren suffered heavy oppressions, by which many friends, who would not renounce the Brethren, were either driven away, or unseasonably took occasion from hence to retire to the congregations of the Brethren. These were with difficulty brought under cover; and part of them, with their large families, fell entirely upon the congregations for their maintenance. At the same time, the necessary support of the former, and the settlement of new, colonies and missions went on, not only, as heretofore, but required more persons, and necessarily more help than hitherto. The societies, established for the furtherance of the gospel among the Heathen, became timorous on account of the rapid progress and the great expences of the missions, lost their courage by degrees, and at length ceased to be what, for some years, they had been with blessing. The seminary, the pædagogium, and the children's economies encreased, not only by the growth of the congregations, but also by many young people from distant places, in consequence of the aforelaid oppressions.

In this manner, the exigences of the congregations, colonies, missions, and economies became, from year to year, more considerable; the more so, as, here and there, the former simple and frugal housekeeping was laid aside, and this deviation could not be immediately redressed, on account of the circumstances of the times, as related above. The assistance, hitherto given by Brethren and friends, grew less and less, and was not sufficient to make up the deficiency. As the servants of the church of the Brethren could and would not suffer the work of God, which, though labouring under so many difficulties, yet spread farther and farther, to be hemmed or stopped; so the *Diacony* (§ 178.) was under a necessity of thinking of ways and means to support it. They were, therefore, obliged to borrow what

was

was wanted for the present, in hopes of making a more effectual regulation. This method met, for some years, with no difficulty; but had, alas! the hurtful tendency to wean the members of the congregations, and other friends of the cause of God, almost entirely from taking any actual share in it. To this was added the severe fasting, with regard to the inward state of the congregation, in the year 1746, which had various painful effects upon the œconomical affairs of the Brethren. This fasting broke out almost every where in the years 1748 and 1749; at a time, when several negotiations, which were likewise attended with great expences, were carrying on, to obtain an examination and firmer establishment of the cause of the Brethren. The ordinary then resided with his house in England, which caused many expensive journeys. All these things raised the distress still higher. In England, not only the Brethren's society for the furtherance of the gospel among the Heathen in the British dominions, but also the laudable regulations for the support of the children's œconomies, and of the ministers and other labourers, were, in several congregations, neglected in such a manner, that almost the whole of these expences were cast upon the diacony, and they were obliged to bear them. By this means, the burden grew still heavier. Some merchants, who belonged to the Brethren's congregation, endeavouring, with a very good meaning, to support the cause by their credit, the diacony was, on the one hand, helped for a time; but, on the other, it occasioned greater expences and many losses, which, at length, threw the whole affair into confusion.

To all these, and other more real, misfortunes, which cannot be specified here, was still added the emigration from *Herrnhaag* in 1750 and the following years; by which the diacony sustained a much greater loss than is generally imagined; since, thereby, partly large sums, which had  
been

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been advanced, were entirely lost; and partly a well-ordered and established fund of credit was shaken in such a manner, that the diacony was obliged to take it upon themselves, and, at a most unseasonable juncture, to make up the whole with certain loss. At the same time, all the children's oeconomies, hitherto established in Wetteravia, were broken up, and, together with many old, infirm, and helpless persons and families, transplanted to other countries at very considerable charges; not to mention the loss in the implements of the trades, and in the furniture. All this happened at a time, when the Brethren were scarcely recovered from the loss sustained by the emigration from *Pilgerrub*. (§ 92.)

### § 180.

IN the mean time, the ordinary went to Germany. But he no sooner heard of the difficult circumstances of the diacony, and of the before-mentioned embarrassment of affairs in England, than he resolved to hasten back. By his presence and credit he was successful in rescuing the diacony there out of the most pressing difficulties. But the aforesaid well-meaning merchants, who had, from time to time, advanced sums of money to the general diacony, were drawn into a large bill-negotiation with a certain Jew. This man failing, in the beginning of the year 1753, not in an honourable manner; the merchants and the Brethren were obliged to stand for a much greater sum, than they really owed and were able to pay in so short a time. This made all their creditors uneasy. They demanded payment. The ordinary, who as yet was ignorant of the whole connexion of the transactions for the support of their credit, became most deeply and painfully concerned on account of it. But, when he, at length, got an insight into the whole state of the case, he was comforted, and, on the written request and intreaty of the Brethren concerned, took upon himself, and stood for, the whole debt, on condition that the creditors

ditors would agree to his measures. This he did out of love to his Brethren, to maintain their credit, and to preserve the honour of our Saviour from being exposed to reproach by means of his people. An eminent lawyer, who was employed to settle these affairs, dissuaded him from personally engaging for such a debt; and offered other honourable proposals for extricating the Brethren. But when he could not prevail upon the ordinary, this uncommonly noble and generous way of thinking made such a deep impression upon him, that he afterwards extolled it to the creditors with tears in his eyes, and endeavoured to induce them to enter into an agreement with the debtors, by means of this surety; by which the capitals, with all the interests, should be paid at certain stated terms. Most of the creditors agreed to it; but some, influenced and incited by bitter enemies of the Brethren, were determined either to be paid out of hand, or to proceed against their debtors with the utmost severity. Yea, when still other gentlemen of substance offered themselves to be bondsmen, they would not accept of them, under the pretext that they also were Brethren. This rendered the negotiation exceedingly difficult and disagreeable. But the rest of the creditors soon saw that these people were not so much intent upon obtaining a sufficient security for their demands, as upon effecting the total ruin of the Brethren; and some spoke it plainly out, that, now they were falling, care should be taken that they might not rise again. Some of the other creditors, therefore, took upon themselves the demands of those who opposed the agreement, paid them entirely off, and had the deed engrossed and executed. Every thing being settled, the creditors returned thanks to the ordinary for his interposition, by two deputies out of their number, in the presence of many Brethren.

## § 181.

THIS was indeed a time of great distress, an hour of temptation, in which the thoughts of many hearts were revealed. Many friends lost their courage, and drew back; because they saw no way for the Brethren to be extricated out of these difficulties. The enemies exulted, and spared no pains and cost to render the fall of the Brethren as certain and as striking as possible. But God, in whom the Brethren placed their confidence, as in all other matters, so in particular in this distress, which arose in the beginning from their determination to venture in faith their all in furthering his kingdom; God remained faithful, amidst all their mistakes and transgressions, which they heartily acknowledged; and caused the temptation to end in such a manner, that they were able to bear it. With one hand he chastised them, and with the other he showed mere mercy. He always delivered them out of their distress; and it was often very obvious, that he permitted it to rise to the highest pitch, with the intent, to show his help the more evidently. A particular instance of this remains ever memorable to me and others that have seen with their own eyes the wonderful help of God, on the 2d of March, 1753, when the daily word was,

GOD COMETH \* !

“ And grants us blessings great to share.”

For, when the assistance, which was expected some days before, failed, and a certain merchant, who was no Brother, could not, on that account, make his payments good at the appointed time, by which he was in danger of being cast into prison; and the ordinary being resolved to preserve the credit of this innocent man, and to go to prison in his stead; just in the critical moment, help arrived, contrary to

\* Isa. xxxv. 4, according to the German version.

the expectation of every one : and thus the design of those, who were incensed against him and the Brethren, was frustrated. Such help the debtors often experienced just at the time when they were to be arrested. Amidst all the pain which was felt on account of false friends, many joyful proofs appeared of brotherly love, which is ready to give up all, even life itself, for the Brethren. At the same time, the Brethren learned, from experience, to understand more fully many inestimable words of our Saviour and his apostles ; particularly this exhortation of our Lord, *Take no thought for the morrow : for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.* (Matt. vi. 34.) I have observed upon the whole, that, at that time, almost every day was distinguished by some particular evil, but also by some singular instance of the help of God : insomuch, that every one was obliged to acknowledge that all honour belonged unto him alone, and not to men.

For all these benefits, received at the hand of the Lord in the year 1753, a day of thanksgiving was appointed in all the congregations of the Brethren, on which he was praised and adored with numberless tears. For, though all distress was not yet at an end, and it was well known, that it would still cost much labour and pains to pay off all the debts ; yet the Brethren could draw fresh hope from their manifold experience of the help of God. This hope has not been put to shame. I will here only mention beforehand, that the aforesaid agreement with the creditors has been entirely fulfilled at the appointed terms, through the blessing of God, and the willing assistance of some Brethren and friends.

#### § 182.

AMIDST all these distressing occurrences, the congregations in England proceeded in their regular course ; the missions among the Heathen were supplied, as hitherto, according to their necessities ;

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necessities; and the children's economies suffered no real want. *Lindley-house* was, notwithstanding all these difficulties, finished; (§ 172.) and, on the 29th of March, 1753, the ordinary and his household moved into it, with an humble sense of the grace of God, and in confident reliance upon his farther gracious help. I can never call to mind our abode in this house, but with thankfulness towards God, the Giver of every good gift, both in spirituals and in temporals. *The great German Hymn-book of the Brethren*, begun in the year 1752, was completed; and, in the year 1754, a large English Hymn-book, or, *A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages, from the Beginning till now, in two Parts*, was printed. The printing-office, in the ordinary's house, never stood still; for he, amidst all the oppressive circumstances, never suspended his labour for the congregations. The ship of the Brethren, *Irene*, (§ 169.) sailed, in 1753, with forty, and in 1754, twice with upwards of ninety Brethren and Sisters, for the colonies and missions in America.

In what manner the work of God among Christians and Heathens was carried on, and how it spread here and in other places, will be related hereafter. I will only mention at present, that the distressing circumstances of the ordinary and his fellow-labourers had a salutary influence upon all the congregations of the Brethren. Whoever was informed of them, felt not only a tender sympathy, but did all he could to alleviate the burden, which had hitherto lain upon them. To this end, one congregation after the other established their own special diaconies, for the support of their labourers, and for other exigences. They also found it equitable, if not to take entirely upon themselves, yet to assist the diacony in, the providing for the missionaries among the Heathen, and maintaining the poor children in the economies. For this purpose, certain Brethren were appointed, who should receive the kind contributions towards the support of the Heathen-missions; and, after mature consult-



ation, dispose of what came in, where it was found most necessary. Thus also were the poor children and orphans in the œconomies taken care of. These regulations had this advantage, that every where a more simple, frugal and industrious way of life was pursued; that more share was taken in, and more prayers were offered for, the work of God; and, in reliance upon his help, his cause supported, according to the ability which God gave.

## § 183.

To the before-mentioned distress came another, which added greatly unto it. About the very same time, a torrent of controversial writings, and of libels against the Brethren, came over from Germany to England, and were translated by persons that wanted bread. Some whom the Brethren had been obliged to disown, now would revenge themselves. The latter collected various old stories, to render the Brethren odious to the nation. The former endeavoured to persuade the public, that the Brethren had been driven out of Germany and other countries, as people prejudicial to society; and that they had imposed upon the parliament, and obtained the act of 1749 in a surreptitious manner. Although parliament knew very well what was fitting for them to grant, or to refuse, upon so long and so strict an examination; and though the speakers of both houses, and some of the most eminent lords spiritual and temporal, with whom the ordinary kept up an uninterrupted intercourse and correspondence, assured him, that he had no occasion to give himself the least trouble in entering into any defence for their sakes; yet he consented, with a view to pacify the people, that some Brethren might answer the most envenomed pamphlets. He even offered, in the public papers, to answer all the questions which might, in a decent and candid manner, be put to him, publicly or privately, relative to the things alledged against the Brethren in the writings of their

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advised; but, this time also, on condition, that the name of any translator, should not be mentioned; being desirous that their names and persons might be spared; as it is taken notice of in § 162. He has kept his promise. To one of the first ministers of state, who urged the prosecution of a certain libeller, and promised him all his interest in having him punished, he gave his reasons in writing, why he neither could nor would prosecute him\*. A certain eminent divine, who compared the Brethren to all the ancient and modern heretics, and charged them with all their errors, though ever so opposite to each other, received from him a very moderate private answer.

The aim of the arch-enemy was, no doubt, to stir up the people, and to raise a mob against the Brethren. But his design was frustrated for this time. The Brethren never lived and preached in greater quietude in England and Ireland, than at this very time, when so much was read in the news-papers against them; though often many hundred people passed by their houses and chapels, relating all manner of scandals, which had been spread abroad concerning them. A curiosity was rather raised in many, to obtain a more certain knowledge of the Brethren, and to hear them preach. On Easter-Sunday morning, in the year 1753, several thousands gathered together at *Fulneck*, in *Yorkshire*, to be present at the divine service of the Brethren, of which

\* The conduct of the ordinary, in many such cases, was so Christian-like, and so truly noble, that it surprised even his Brethren. The writer of this note was urged, by the lord above-mentioned, to persuade the ordinary to prosecute the author, whose pamphlet hurt the credit of several persons. But he was determined not to return evil for evil. Another instance of the same nature, is, that, when a certain Brother, who had been a confidant of the said author, was so provoked by his pamphlet, that he was resolved to publish many things known to him, greatly to the disadvantage of the author, the ordinary declared, that he would renounce all connexion with him, if he did it. In this manner of bearing reproach, he enjoyed a satisfaction which none of his revilers could have. (The Editor.)

they

they had heard strange accounts. Many instances became known afterwards, of people attending the preaching of the gospel, upon these occasions, here and in other places, for a permanent blessing unto their souls.

## § 184.

AFTER the ordinary, with his household, had moved into Lindsey-house at *Chelsea*, he again began the conferences with the labourers that were at hand from the German and English congregations. He was present, in July, at the provincial synod of the English labourers, and made a visit, in August, to some congregations in the country. In September and October he held a synodal conference with the deputies from almost all the congregations abroad, to which *Spangenberg*, and some other labourers, were come from America. The same was done in September 1754, when the countess of Zinzendorf was likewise present. The ordinary, before this, paid a visit to the English congregations, staying longest at *Fulneck*. Here he spoke with many persons singly, held several congregation and choir-discourses, and conferences with the labourers. During his abode here, the negotiation with the Rev. *Benjamin Ingham*, concerning the premises on which this congregation-place is built, was finished. He made a disposition for the girls-æconomy, which formerly had been at *Mile-end* near London, and was now moved from thence to *Chelsea*, to be transplanted to *Fulneck*, where it could be better regulated and taken care of; together with the æconomy of boys settled there.

## § 185.

Soon after, in November 1754, an English provincial synod was again held at Lindsey-house, at which the minister of the Brethren's church at *London*, *John Gambold*, a

divine greatly esteemed for his piety and learning by several English bishops, who were his contemporaries in the university of *Oxford*, was consecrated a bishop of the church of the Brethren. The society at *Bristol* sent some of their Brethren to the synod, to desire the settlement of a congregation there. The labourers from *Yorkshire* and the *North of Ireland* requested the same, in the name of several societies. From awakened persons in *Wales*, where *John Connick* had visited in the year 1753, and preached in many places with blessing, letters were received, requesting, that Brethren might be sent to take care of them. A married couple were sent to *Wales*, who visited the awakened, and settled societies in some places. In the beginning of the year 1755, bishop *Johannes de Watteville* held a visitation in the English and Irish congregations. A number, selected out of the society at *Bristol*, were formed into a congregation of the Brethren. Some neighbouring clergymen of the church of England became better acquainted with the Brethren, by means of this visitation. In *Yorkshire*, the congregation at *Fulneck* obtained the same constitution as any other congregation-place of the Brethren. The members of the congregation, living at *Pudsey*, *Gomersal*, *Mirfield*, *Wyke*, and *Duckenfield*, were settled, after the pattern of the country-congregations in *Pennsylvania*, as congregations of the Brethren. They received their own labourers, who performed the public divine worship, together with the care of souls in their places, under the direction of the labourers at *Fulneck*; yet so, that all the members of the congregation in those parts celebrated, every quarter of a year, the holy communion with the congregation at *Fulneck*. The societies and preaching places, lying nearest to each of these congregations, were supplied by their respective labourers, and by assistants, appointed by the conference at *Fulneck*, from time to time.

§ 186.

In the congregation at *Dublin* a sifting was broken out in the year 1752, in which both the labourers and some private members were involved. Sundry irregularities had been discovered. Those labourers, who were blame-worthy, on account of their negligence, or improper conduct, were removed, and others appointed in their places, under the inspection of *John Toeltschig*, which was not without a good effect.

In the *North of Ireland*, where, in the year 1746, *John Cennick*, upon the invitation of a certain zealous man at *Ballymenagh*, began to preach to vast numbers of people, under great persecution, were now sixteen societies and as many chapels, and besides, the gospel was preached in forty other places. The whole plan was divided into six districts, and a labourer given to each of them. They lie chiefly round *Lough Neagh*, in the counties of *Derry*, *Down*, *Antrim*, and *Armagh*. A number had already been selected out of the societies at *Ballymenagh* and *Ballinderry*, at a visitation three years before, who were served with more particular care; and these were, at the present visitation, formed into congregations of the Brethren, like those in *Yorkshire* and in *Pennsylvania*.

It is certain, that it would have been more agreeable to the ordinary, if those that were awakened through the preaching of the Brethren, had continued in their former denominations, and were ministered unto by the Brethren with good advice. In this view, first a select number of the hearers of the Brethren were formed into societies. These should, according to his insight, attend the public worship in their churches, partaking of the sacraments in their religion; and should only be led, by means of edifying conversation and good advice, by the Brethren, whom he would

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consider as assistants of their ministers. To this day, this regulation is kept to in several places. But as many in the societies were not of the established church, but of other denominations, and some even of smaller and erroneous religious parties; and as it could not be required of them to join themselves to the church, there was, therefore, a necessity, upon their leaving their former parties, or being put out by them, to take care of them in another way, that they might not become separatists. The Brethren were obliged to receive such into their congregation, and, besides the preaching of the gospel, to administer the holy sacraments unto them. Since many, who formerly belonged to the established church, but had left it, some even before their acquaintance with the Brethren, could not be withheld from the congregation, assigning such reasons as could not be gainfayed; the Brethren could do no otherwise, than treat such people, if they found a real work of grace in them, as members of the Brethren's congregation, and grant them the same privileges which the rest enjoyed.

### § 187.

SOME account has been given in § 174, of the state of the congregations of the Brethren in Pennsylvania, during this period. I will now add some particulars concerning the state of the mission among the *Indians* in North America. Besides the Indian congregation at *Gnadenhuetten*, Brethren lived at *Meniolagomekah*, which was, as it were, the filial of *Gnadenhuetten*, at *Pachgatgoch*, and at *Wechquatnach*, on the frontiers of New England, and at *Schomoko*, on the *Susquehannah*. Brethren from *Bethlehem* made, from time to time, journeys to *Wajomik*, *Neshopacko*, and other places on the *Susquehannah*, visited the baptized *Indians*, when they were hunting in those parts, and preached the gospel to the *Indians* living there, who also often came on visits to *Bethlehem*.  
Moreover,

Moreover, *David Zaisberger* \*, in order to keep up the acquaintance with the Six Nations, and to wait for an opportunity of making the gospel known to them, took several difficult journeys to their chief places, especially to *Onondago*, in company of one or another Brother, who likewise were desirous to learn the languages of the Indians. He commonly staid some months, conversing with them in a friendly manner: yet effected but little in their hearts, and endured, with his companions, hunger, cold, and many other hardships; yea, their lives were in danger, when the Indians were drunk. But yet, amidst various difficulties, and many obstacles, which were still, from time to time, laid in their way, the mission was carried on with success. It had even the appearance, as if the hope of the ordinary, which he had conceived in the year 1742, during his stay at *Wajomik*, would be fulfilled, that the cruel *Schawanos*, who lived there at that time, would either be converted, or move away, and make room for an Indian congregation. For, in July 1752, a deputation of more than an hundred persons †, mostly of the *Nantikoks* at *Wajomik*, came to *Gnadenhuetten* and *Bethlehem*. They, with many solemnities usual among them, established friendship between the Indians and the Brethren at *Bethlehem*, and invited them to visit, or rather, to live among, them, assuring the Brethren, that they would hear and embrace the gospel. The joy of the Brethren at *Bethlehem* on account of this visit, and their willingness to serve the Indians in the gospel, was extraordinarily great. This occurrence was, indeed, very pleasing to the ordinary, and strengthened his hope, that an Indian congregation would still be settled on the *Susquehannah*; yet he expected, not that a whole nation of the Indians, but

\* He is known among the Indians by the name of *Ganoushrachery*; having, as other Brethren, been received into one of their tribes, and naturalized

† In this year, six hundred and eighty Indians visited at *Bethlehem*, at different times.

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that only an ἑκλογη, or small number of them, would be converted, who would then do well to move together, and live by themselves. In March 1753, another deputation from the same nations renewed the friendship; and, in the name of the Six Nations, brought a message to the Mahikanders and Delawares at *Gnadenhuetten* and *Menelagomekah*, as also to the *Wampanoes* at *Pachgatgoch* and *Wechquatnach*, whom the Indian Brethren should tell that they should depart out of the country of the white people, and move to *Wajomik*, where they could have teachers from the Brethren too, and live after their manner. They delivered this message timorously, being apprehensive it might not be agreeable to the Brethren. The Brethren answered them, They had no objection that the Indians, who hitherto had lived with them, might move thither, but left it entirely to them to take what resolution they should think proper. It appeared, however, suspicious to them, that the Six Nations should send such a message neither by deputies from *Onondago*, nor by our Brethren there, but by strange Indians. And this message being delivered timorously, confirmed them in their apprehension, that they were meditating war. The event verified this supposition. The ordinary agreed with *Spangenberg*, who, in the year 1754, returned to America, that our Indians should neither be furthered, nor hindered, to move into the Indian country; as to those who staid behind, they should be the more taken care of, and those that went away, should be visited from time to time, and regard should be had to the issue our Saviour would produce out of it.

### § 188.

SOME Indians, therefore, by their own choice, removed from *Gnadenhuetten* to *Wajomik*; but others came soon in their room. For, in the year 1753, the Indians at *Wechquatnach* were obliged to quit their land, it being sold. The Brethren received those of whom they had good hopes; and  
suffered



suffered the rest, who chose rather to live in the woods, to go to Wajomik, whither the Indians at *Westenhook*, near *Wechquatnach*, baptized by the Presbyterians, and the Indians from the *Ferseys*, also went. Thus, *Pachgatgoch* remained alone. This station among the Heathen, situate about two hundred miles from Bethlehem, belonged to the Indian captain *Gideon*, who carried on the cause of our Saviour, even at a time when the Brethren were confined in prison for the sake of the Heathen, and were detained from their borders for a long time. This same *Gideon* was the cause, that his Indians did not move into the country of the savages, since he saw, and represented to them, that they would suffer there damage in their souls. In the year 1754, the Indians in *Memolagomekah* were likewise obliged to forsake their land. Some of them removed to *Gnadenhuetten*, and some to Wajomik. This was, therefore, the third Indian town, the inhabitants of which were forced to emigrate, and whom the Brethren were obliged to receive, viz. in 1745, *Chikomekah*, from whence arose *Gnadenhuetten*, (§. 139.) and now *Wahquatnach* and *Memolagomekah*. In the year 1755, also the Indians from *Gnadenhuetten* were expelled, and received by the Brethren at Bethlehem; as we shall see in the following Part.

The Indians, who had removed to Wajomik, from the above-mentioned five places, having, in part, been before under the care of the Brethren, earnestly desired to have a missionary living among them. But there were good reasons for not gratifying their desire for the present. However, they were often, and, when possible, every six or eight weeks, visited by Brethren, who, every time, staid several days with them, visited them in the places where they were hunting, or in their towns, especially at *Shehantowa* and *Ostlonwakin*, and preached the gospel to all the inhabitants, and even baptized some, who could not come to any Indian congregation. Thus, an emotion was occasioned among the Indians in the whole district, especially at *Lechawachnik*, a town

town of the Mingo Indians, which would have had many blessed consequences both far and near, if the Indian war had not intervened.

§ 189.

AMONG all the offers for settling colonies, made to the Brethren in the years 1747 and 1749, by occasion of the negotiations with the parliament of Great Britain, (§ 138, and 152.) none came to effect but the offer of an hundred thousand acres of land in *North Carolina*, in the territory of the president of the privy council, the earl of *Granville*. The view with this colony was, to give to such Brethren and friends, as should desire it, an opportunity of settling, at a cheap rate, in a country as yet but little cultivated; to serve, both in a temporal and spiritual sense, the inhabitants already there, and especially such neighbours as should be inclined to settle round about them, as several did afterwards; and to preach the gospel to them, as well as to the *Cherokees*, *Catawbas*, *Chikafaws*, *Creeks*, and other Indians. The purchase of the land was not completed before the autumn of 1751. *Spangenberg* received the commission to go thither with some Brethren, in order to seek out and survey the land. This was done about the end of the year 1752. It was attended, in the uninhabited parts of the country, with much danger and hardship. The Brethren, appointed to seek out the land, were lost in the wild woods, in which they spent fourteen weeks, before they could obtain their aim. In autumn 1753, Bethlehem made the beginning to fit out the first colonists, eleven single Brethren, with horses and waggons, cattle, household-furniture, and utensils for husbandry. They went thither by land, and, for the sake of provender, took a route of nine hundred miles, through countries where no European had ever travelled with any carriage. They were obliged, with a great deal of trouble and fatigue, to make their way through rivers, and over steep  
rocks,

rocks, and mountains covered with woods; on which journey they spent six weeks. On the 17th of November, they took possession of this land, which borders on the river *Yadkin*, and was called by the Brethren, The *Wachau*, or, *Wachovia*. They began with good courage to clear a piece of land, preparing it for meadows and arable land. They also built a mill, which proved of the greatest benefit to the circumjacent country, since more inhabitants soon settled round about them. In autumn 1754, *Peter Boehler*, who was arrived the year before from England in America, made a journey thither, to assist the Brethren in their first settlement. At the same time, dispositions were made for obtaining a better knowledge of the country, dividing it into proper parts for improvement. After the arrival of the second company of single Brethren from Bethlehem, on the 26th of October, 1754, the place where the Brethren had first settled, was more and more built and cultivated, and called, *Bethabara*. The land of the Brethren was, in the year 1755, by an *Act of Assembly*, declared a particular parish, and, after the name of the then governor, called, *Dobb's Parish*.

§ 190.

WE will now go farther southward in America. As to the Negro-mission in the Danish West India islands, I cannot describe it better, than from *Nathanael Seidel's* relation of his visitation there in the year 1753. In general, the work of God, since the last visitation, (§ 167.) had, under the protection of the supreme magistrate and the government there, proceeded in peace and with blessing. As most of the planters became more and more convinced of the advantage they reaped from the conversion of their Negroes, it was a satisfaction to them, to see their Negroes attending the preaching, and being baptized; insomuch, that they entertained the Brethren to visit them frequently. But yet,  
various

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various difficulties and hinderances were never wanting; the greatest of which was, that the labourers were too few, and these, for the most part, weak, and often very sick. Many were hardly arrived, and equipped for the labour, when they were called to rest. On this account, the missions in *St. Croix* and in *St. Jan* had not always a constant missionary residing in these islands. It was not till in the year 1753, that *George Ohneberg* went to stay for a constancy at *St. Croix*, and in 1754, *John Brukker*, at *St. Jan*. In *St. Thomas*, *George Weber* and *John Boehner* resided at *New Herrnhut*, and *John Hantsch* at *Krumbay*, since called *Niesky*. These, besides the public divine service at *New Herrnhut*, preached weekly sermons on several plantations. Many hundred children in the whole island were diligently visited and instructed by *Ronner*. All of them spent the time they had to spare, labouring with their hands for their sustenance; in which (exclusive of the work in the cane-fields, which they did with their few Negroes,) three single Brethren were of great service to them by their handicrafts, especially building mills; though they, at the same time, assisted in attending to the Negroes. The missions-diacony supported them, from Europe and Pennsylvania, with the necessaries which their earnings were not sufficient to supply. The number of all the baptized Negroes, since the beginning of the mission, amounted already to above a thousand, who, with the children and the rest of the catechumens, made four thousand souls, who were under the care of the Brethren. Some of them consisted of *Crools*, that is, such as were born in the West Indies; but the greatest part were *Buffals*, who were bought in Africa, and transported hither. The Brethren reckoned more than sixty different nations of these Negroes, each of which has, in Africa, their own language, manners, and religious usages. They are all idolaters, offering various sorts of sacrifices; and some have circumcision among them. They are, most of them, lazy,  
and,

and, when reduced to distress, desperate. Many of them are warlike, and sell their prisoners to the Europeans as slaves; though many even steal and sell their own friends and nearest relations. Some treat their prisoners with great cruelty, and devour them, not for want only, when pressed with hunger, but from revenge; on which account they sharpen their teeth with a file, like the teeth of a saw. But some are more sensible, laborious, and orderly, than others; and many are sold to the West Indies, who, in their native country, have been instructed in Christianity, and baptized by the Portuguese.

In *St. Thomas*, the Brethren had twenty-four helpers from among the natives, who, in the extensive labour among the Negroes, afforded them great service. The business of these national helpers is, to visit and speak with those living in their districts. Every Sunday they have a conference with the missionaries, when they give an account of the souls, and receive good advice. Some of them are used with blessing in holding meetings, when the missionaries, for want of time or health, are not able to supply all the places.

In *St. Croix*, the missionary still lived on the plantation of the company, called, *Princess*. But the Brethren in *St. Thomas* bought a piece of land, of four acres, for a thousand pieces of eight, on which afterwards a church, with a dwelling-house, was built, and called, *Fruendsthal*. At the west end of the island, where a town was laid out, also a great awakening took place among the Negroes, whom the missionary assiduously visited, and, in the interim, the Negro *David*, a master mason, held their meetings.

In *St. Jan*, where the Brethren were already in possession of a piece of land, the Negroes most earnestly intreated for a missionary to reside constantly among them; and offered to build him an house. Although the Brethren took their will for the deed; yet they saw, in this instance, their earnest desire for their own salvation and that of their children.

When

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When they afterwards obtained a Brother, the number of the baptized soon remarkably increased \*.

§ 191.

By means of the preaching of the gospel at *London*, some persons of character were gained. Among these were some gentlemen from *Jamaica*, who had considerable estates there, and many Negroes; for the conversion of whom they had formerly taken several laudable, but fruitless, steps, and spared no expence. Upon a nearer acquaintance with the Brethren, having an opportunity of hearing accounts of the great work of God among the Heathen, and especially among the Negroes, the praise-worthy concern for the salvation of their slaves was renewed in them. They requested the ordinary to procure some Brethren to preach the gospel to their Negroes. They, in particular, desired that *Zacharias George Caries*, whose sermons and conversation had been much blessed to them, might be appointed for that purpose. This Brother consented to it; and, though the ordinary was not without his scruples in this affair, yet he was dispatched to *Jamaica*, in October 1754, with two other Brethren.

Every thing went quite differently from what could be expected. For, though the beginning of any undertaking, especially in the kingdom of Christ, being a kingdom of the cross, is usually attended with difficulties; yet here, every thing proceeded with remarkable ease. The aforesaid gentlemen supported the Brethren in externals. They built an house for them on a piece of land which they had given for the use of the mission, which was called, *Carmel*; and encouraged their Negroes to hear the gospel, by affording them all the necessary liberty for it. The Negroes present-

\* See *Oldendorp's History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren in the Caribbee Islands, &c.*

ly flocked together in such numbers, that, at the end of the year 1755, eight hundred hearers were computed, of whom twenty-six were baptized. The missionary commonly preached to the Negroes in three places, belonging to the before-mentioned gentlemen; and was, besides, invited by several other gentlemen, to declare the word of God also to their Negroes; which he did with joy, as far as his time would allow. On the part of the white people, he scarcely met with any opposition; and such as were in some respect opponents, were won, as soon as they saw and heard him. They came in numbers to hear the sermons addressed to the Negroes. But since they were often an hinderance to him in preaching to the Negroes, he determined to preach to them separately. Nor was he without blessing among them, in rescuing some from the way of perdition, and seeing several, at their end, depart in reliance upon the merits of Jesus.

§ 192.

IN *Berbice*, the work of God among the Indians prospered, and spread more and more, notwithstanding all the hardships the mission was involved in, through envy and false accusations of seven years continuance. (§ 168.) The occasion of these difficulties was, that it was required of the missionaries to take an oath, and to exercise in the use of arms; which demand they had been exempted from eleven years before, though they had obtained no written privilege for it, as in *Surinam*. It was likewise required of them, not to draw the Indians to themselves, nor withhold them from the service of the company; although the Indians, a few excepted, came, of their own accord, from far countries. It was also required of them to urge the baptized to assist at the fishery, and other service of the colony. They were, several times, cited, on this head, before the council; and, though the missionary gave very solid answers, so, that the  
sincere

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sincere intention of the Brethren, and the reality of the conversion of the Heathen, evidently appeared, yet the above and other requisitions were insisted upon, with the intimation, that, in case of refusal, they should quit the country. And indeed, *Lewis Christopher Dohne*, who arrived in 1751, was immediately sent back with the same ship that brought him. It is true, some gentlemen, who feared God, endeavoured to prevent the entire prohibition of the Brethren from attempting to convert the Heathen, or sending them all out of the country. There was also reason to believe, that, on the representations of these gentlemen, and of the Brethren in Europe, to the higher powers, gracious orders were sent on their behalf. The governor himself, on a tour through the country, coming to *Pilgerhut*, seeing, examining, and, as he declared, finding every thing better than was reported to him, the Brethren hoped for better times. Some Indians were also, upon demand, sent to the colony, to assist in the fishery, under proper inspection. But, nevertheless, the mission obtained no complete rest and safety, and still met with many disagreeable occurrences, which not only laid many impediments in their way, but might even have promoted its entire ruin. By occasion of a failure in the crop, soldiers came to buy cassabi roots of the Indians; and these being in want themselves, the roots were taken by force from the Indians living with the Brethren, and those not yet ripe were wantonly destroyed. The poor Indians, indeed, bore this with patience; but, it being several times repeated in the space of three years, they, at last, were obliged to look out in the wilderness for places to plant, especially about the river *Wicky*, where they had not to expect the like treatment. By this means, a dispersion of them was effected, which proved highly injurious to the mission.

In the mean time, the congregation was greatly increased, and the sound of the gospel reached farther and farther. Many Indians came from the rivers *Surinam*, *Corentyn*,



*Isequeb, Wilky, Demerary, Canjen, Ouranque, &c.* to which places the Brethren could not go. I find, in the accounts, besides the *Arawaks*, of whom the congregation chiefly consisted, and in whose language the gospel was preached, the following nations mentioned, who, at least, have yielded some first-fruits: The *Aquaies*, the *Warauas*, and the *Caribbees*, or *Calepina*; some of whom are esteemed barbarians by the *Arawaks* themselves, they being cruel to their enemies.

The Indian congregation at *Pilgerhut* was settled in a very regular manner, and went on in a pleasing way. The missionaries had also the satisfaction to train up helpers from among them, whose inspection, good advice, conversation, and discourses were greatly blessed to their countrymen. Those who were dispersed in the *Savannah*, or wilderness, some from fear of ill treatment, some from want of sustenance, or other reasons, proved, in like manner, by their words and behaviour, a blessing to many Heathen, although, as may be easily supposed, many suffered damage, which, indeed, was healed from time to time, yet could not entirely be remedied.

About this time, in the year 1754, an opportunity offered for the renewal of the mission in *Surinam*, which shall be related in its connexion, in the following Part.

### § 193.

In the year 1750, by means of a French gentleman, who, as he said, had been in *Ethiopia*, and who aimed at returning thither by the assistance of an European power, the former desire of the Brethren was renewed, of entering into an useful acquaintance with the *Ethiopian church*, in which, according to their liturgies, a good deal of the old apostolical simplicity was expected to be met with; and the Brethren wished to be of some service to this church.

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The physician, *Frederic William Hokker*, who had been in Persia and Egypt, (§ 170.) took the matter to heart; and, in the year 1752, proposed to the ordinary, that he would go to *Cairo*, in *Egypt*, and wait there for an opportunity of going to *Ethiopia*. His intention was, to practise there as a physician, to learn the Arabic language, to establish an intercourse with the patriarch of the *Copts*, whose office it is to consecrate the *Abuna*, or archbishop, of the *Abyssinians*, and, through him, to obtain an acquaintance with the *Aluna*; and to offer to them the services of the church of the Brethren. The ordinary was pleased with this proposal, and gave him credentials to the patriarch of the *Copts*, residing in *Caro*. In May, 1752, *Hokker* went from London, by way of Genoa and Leghorn, to *Egypt*, and reached *Cairo* on the 27th of August. He hired an house, in which he also entertained, for some time, the students *Schulz* and *Woltersdorf*, who were sent by the Hallish institution for the conversion of the Jews. He prepared for the practice of physic, and entered into an useful acquaintance with the *Franks* residing there (So all Europeans are called in *Turkey*) Having so far learned the Arabic language, which is also used in *Abyssinia*, and has some connexion with the language of the country, as to be able to express himself tolerably well, and translate his credentials into it; he delivered them on the 28th of November, 1753, to the patriarch of the Coptic church, and had many agreeable and useful conversations with him concerning the descent, doctrine, and constitution of the church of the Brethren, and the state of the Coptic and Abyssinian church; during which, the tears often flowed in the eyes of this venerable hoary old man. On the fifth day of *Kahl*, according to the Coptic calendar, which was the 12th of December, 1753, he received an answer in the Arabic tongue, of which, omitting the titles usual in the East, I will communicate the following :

“ In

“ In the name of the merciful and gracious God. In  
 “ God is salvation. From *Mark* \*, the servant of the serv-  
 “ ants of the Lord. The peace of our Lord and God,  
 “ and the Captain of our salvation, Jesus Christ, which he,  
 “ in an upper room at Zion, poured forth upon the  
 “ assembly of the excellent disciples and apostles; may he  
 “ pour out this peace upon the beloved, excellent, and ex-  
 “ periented Brother, the venerable bishop, our father *Aloy-*  
 “ *sus* †, the liturgist of the Unity of the Brethren.—This  
 “ is to testify, beloved Brother, that the blessed son and ve-  
 “ nerable deacon, *Irenæus* ‡ *Hokker*, has delivered unto us  
 “ your letter, which was full of affectionate cordial love.  
 “ We have read it; and it became unto us a taste of your  
 “ love to all Christian men. We, in like manner, pray  
 “ God for you, and for all the Christian people, that he  
 “ may exalt the glory of the Christians in the whole habit-  
 “ able world, through the nutrition of his life-giving  
 “ cross, &c.

§ 194.

As to the journey to *Abyssinia*, *Hokker* enquired occasion-  
 ally, in particular of a native of that country, after the cir-  
 cumstances of it; and learned, among other things, that, at  
 that time, a Greek was at the helm of the government as  
 prime minister, and that he endeavoured to draw foreign  
 colonists into the country. In the mean time, the above-  
 mentioned French gentleman arrived at *Cairo*, with a great  
 retinue and character, in order to go, up the *Nile*, to *Abyf-*

\* The patriarchs of the Copts, who also bear the title of  
 patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Abyssinia, and Nubia,  
 are all called after the evangelist *Mark* who is said to have  
 founded the church at Alexandria; and this patriarch was *Mark*  
 CVI.

† *Louis*

‡ *Frederic*, or, in German, *Friedrich*, that is, *Rich in Peace*.

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*finia*, and wanted to persuade Hokker to go with him. He neither could nor would engage himself with him, especially as the way up the Nile, by reason of many large cataracts, is impracticable; and accordingly, this gentleman, after many difficulties and expences, was obliged to return without executing his purpose. But, on this occasion, Hokker's proper design became more known than he liked; and it might have caused him much inconvenience, if God had not held his hand over him. There was no other way, but to go, along the Red Sea, by way of *Mazwa*, to *Gondar*, the chief city in Abyssinia. But, since all the sea-ports in those parts are in the hands of the Turks, who, from reasons of state, suffer not easily an European to come in or go out; he resolved to provide himself with a *Ferman*, or pass, from the grand seignor, and then, in autumn 1754, to embark on the Red Sea. For this end, he went, in the spring of the year, by way of *Smyrna*, to *Constantinople*, just at the time when the plague raged there. He was treated with much distinction by the English and other ambassadors, and had opportunities, here and there, to recommend the merits of Christ, as the only cause and means of our salvation, and to give many gentlemen just ideas of the church of the Brethren. He obtained more than he sought for; a ferman from the grand seignor, a rescript from the grand vizier to the bashaw at *Gidda* on the Red Sea, a letter from the sharaff at Constantinople to the sharaff at Cairo, and, besides, some letters from the ambassadors to the consuls of their nations, and a recommendation from the English ambassador to the prime minister in Abyssinia, who had formerly been in the service of the English. With these he returned to *Alexandria* in Egypt. But as, mean while, the best season for travelling was elapsed, he chose to stay the winter there and at Cairo, in order to provide himself with the necessaries for his journey. In the interim, the grand seignor died; and thus the validity of his ferman ceased.

Great disturbances arose in Egypt, which were attended with much danger, on account of the robbers. He, therefore, determined to wait for more peaceable times; and, in the interval, to visit in the congregations. He set off from Cairo, May the 3d, 1755, and arrived at Leghorn, the 2d of July, from whence he continued his journey, by way of Vienna, and through Bohemia, to Herrnhut, where he arrived on the 8th of September.

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PART VIII.

*From the Ordinary's Return to Germany in 1755, to  
his Decease in 1760.*

§ 195.

WE now return to the ordinary, who, after an abode of near four years in England, set off, in 1755, for Holland and Germany, and, on the 31st of March, arrived at *Zeist*. The number of inhabitants of this place, since 1750, was considerably augmented by Brethren from *Herrnhaag* and other places. A company of wealthy friends had agreed together, both to build houses here for themselves, and to furnish the new inhabitants with the needful buildings and workshops for their businesses, on the payment of a moderate interest. But the plan of the place was laid out too large, and met with difficulties in the execution, which caused many of the aforesaid friends to draw back. Other misunderstandings arising, in these years, among the members of the congregation in Holland, caused several to separate; but part of them returned some time after. The  
congregation

congregation at Zeist enjoyed uninterrupted rest under the protection of their kind magistrates, and was continually visited by strangers. Her Royal highness, the governante, with her young prince, the hereditary stattholder, and the princess Carolina, now consort of the prince of Nassau Weilburg; likewise Lewis, duke of Brunswic Wolfenbuettel, visited this place at different times in the years 1753, 1754, and 1755. They enquired into every thing, took a view of the choir-houses and other laudable institutions, attended divine service, and showed much satisfaction and pleasure at the regulations of the congregation.

The ordinary, at his visit, found this congregation in general in a blessed state, though some of the before-mentioned difficulties were still remaining, which caused him some heavy hours. He was faithfully intent upon promoting the welfare of the congregation with counsel and deed. He edified it, both by his discourses and by private conversations with individual inhabitants; in which also many Brethren and friends took share, who came on visits during his abode here.

§ 196.

FROM hence the ordinary went to *New Wied* upon the Rhine. The French colony, which the lord of the territory, count *John Frederic Alexander of Wied*, had, in the year 1750, invited hither from *Heimhaag*, and to which, after an examination of the doctrine and constitution of the Brethren, he had given a grant of their civil and ecclesiastical privileges, dated the 9th of August, 1751, (§ 158.) enjoyed from him all kindness and protection. But no building, or any establishment of useful trades and manufactures, had yet taken place. In the year 1753, it was even taken into consideration, whether the few colonists should not be distributed into other congregations? The count, unwilling that this should be done, corresponded with the ordinary about

the way and manner of settling this colony on a better footing. After mature consideration of all circumstances, it was resolved, in the year 1754, that the Brethren should stay and build at New Wied. During the ordinary's abode, the matter was farther considered, and the necessary resolutions agreed upon.

§ 197.

He then pursued his journey, and arrived at *New Dietendorf* in the duchy of *Gotha*; where, after ten years difficulties, (§ 109.) it seemed at length that a colony of the Brethren would be established. Since the year 1752, the circumstances were remarkably altered. *Monf. De Luedeke*, a member of the Brethren's congregation, bought this place of the countess of *Koseth*, formerly countess of *Promnitz*. On applying for the confirmation of the purchase at *Gotha*, in February 1753, he found the disposition of the court, and of the spiritual and temporal departments, greatly changed. The quiet behaviour and diligence of the few inhabitants that were left at *New Dietendorf*, the favourable testimony of the neighbouring clergymen, who administered the sacraments to them, and the good example of some of the duke's household, in connexion with the Brethren, had occasioned this alteration. *Luedeke*, on occasion of his confirmation and investiture, perceived plainly that it would be agreeable to the court, if he could people the place with useful manufacturers. The consistory urged the supplying it with a proper parish-minister. A candidate for the ministry, who was a native of the duchy of *Gotha*, and was known to have a love for the Brethren, and in whom they might confide, was proposed to be the parish-minister. He was called in September 1753, and, after the usual examination, ordained and inducted. He performed his function according to the ritual of *Gotha*; and, with the previous knowledge of his superiors, left the Brethren,

whq



who observed the duties of faithful parishioners, at liberty, besides the public service at church, to edify themselves and their children in the manner practised in other congregations of the Brethren; in which he also faithfully assisted them, to the best of his power. But still some years passed, before the inhabitants were increased from other congregations, and tradesmen and manufacturers could settle there. In the mean time, the preaching of the gospel proved a blessing to many from the circumjacent parts, who also made use of the Brethren's advice for their own edification, and that of their families.

In this state the ordinary found the inhabitants of this place. He took a view of the circumstances, and considered in what manner the welfare of the place might be forwarded. After spending a day here, he pursued his journey to *Ebersdorf* in *Vogtland*, where he staid eight days, agreeably employed with his nephew, the reigning count. He held a conference with the labourers, and delivered some discourses to the congregation, the state of which, to this time, has been described in § 132.

### § 198.

ON his way to Herrnhut, he called at *Klein Welke*, near Budissin. Here, since the decease of the late lord lieutenant of Upper Lusatia, count *Gerstorf*, in 1751, was the gathering-place of the awakened of the *Vandal* nation. (§ 148.) They built an addition to the mansion-house, and threw some rooms together for a meeting-hall. Those who lived in villages at a distance, went thither to the meetings once or twice in a month, after attending divine service in their churches; and, on week-days, they met together in their places in small societies, in order to edify one another. Some also removed to *Klein Welke*, and built there. These had their children baptized by one of the neighbouring clergymen; but desired, at the same time, a previous declaration,

claration, in writing, that no parochial claim should be inferred from thence, which this place and some other adjacent villages are exempted from. The awakening among the Vandals had increased very much in the four years since count Gerisdorf's death, and had extended even to Lower Lusatia, through a late acquaintance with some Vandals, who had been awakened by the preaching of the Rev. *George Petermann*, formerly Bohemian minister at *Vetschau*.

The ordinary rejoiced the children, who had been transplanted from Wetteravia into the institution of count Gerisdorf at *Uhyß*, with a short visit; and from thence pursued his journey to *Niesky*.

### § 199.

NIESKY was built for Bohemian colonists, according to § 113: but most of them were removed to Berlin. Since the year 1751, several German Brethren, from Herrnhag and other places, had resorted hither; and by this, as also by placing part of the children's œconomy here, the means of a livelihood, and the enlargement of the place, were greatly promoted. The meetings, before this, had been held in the Bohemian language, but now they were held, alternately, in German and Bohemian. Out of love to the Bohemians, some tutors in the children's œconomy learned their language, and laboured afterwards among them and the Vandals with blessing. Since the publication of the edict of the elector of Saxony, in the year 1750, confirming the privileges of the Brethren, the congregation of Niesky began not only to have the holy communion, by the ministrations of an ordained Brother, for themselves alone; whereas before they went to the communion to Herrnhut or Bertholdsdorf: but, in the year 1752, the often-mentioned *Arvid Gradin* baptized, in the mansion-house at *Tiebus*, the new-born

born son of the steward of the manor; whereas, before this time, baptism was administered by a neighbouring clergyman. The minister and the patrons of the adjoining parish of *Haynichen*, to which Trebus belongs, complained of this baptism, as an encroachment on the parochial rights of their church, and, besides, attempted to include the colonists at Niesky within the limits of the same parish, because they lived on the land belonging to their parish-hamlet Trebus. The king's privy council interposed, and issued an order, that this affair should be amicably adjusted by mutual agreement, which was accordingly effected before the high court of judicature at *Budissin*, in the year 1752; by virtue of which, the patrons of the church and the minister relinquished their asserted right over the Brethren's colony at Niesky, and also over the Brethren dwelling in the mansion-house at Trebus, for a certain sum paid once for all to the church; and thus Niesky obtained the privilege of having its own proper minister.

The ordinary staid a week at this place, held conferences with the labourers, rejoiced the congregation, the different choirs, and the children, with edifying homilies, and, June the 2d, proceeded on his journey to Herrnhut.

§ 200.

HERRNHUT was very much increased, since the year 1751, in the number of its inhabitants, who had begun several useful trades, by which a share of their work and a means of livelihood extended to the adjacent villages. The place enjoyed all desirable favour, protection, and furtherance from government. About this time, Herrnhut began to be much taken notice of, and considered in another light than it had been hitherto; to which the oeconomies of children, that were removed out of Wetteravia to this place,

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place, and to these parts, contributed greatly. Families of high rank, and other eminent persons in church and state, both from the neighbourhood, and from distant countries, visited this once so defamed place, with a view to become acquainted with the inward and outward constitution of it. This not only furnished the inhabitants with work; but there is also good ground to believe, that most of these visitants went away with a good impression, which was blessed to their own souls, and which some of them spread in their own places. And, in truth, amidst the many defects and infirmities which were evident here and there, this was a truly blessed time in the congregation. This made the residence here very agreeable to the inhabitants; and yet they stood prepared to relinquish even this commodious situation, the moment they knew that they could serve their Lord and Saviour in other places among Christians or Heathens. When any went, their places were soon, and commonly doubly, supplied, which obliged them constantly to build more houses. Accordingly, in the year 1755 alone, some new family-houses and workshops were built. The single Brethren were under a necessity again to enlarge their house, and build a new wing; and the single Sisters, who had hitherto lived inconveniently in several contiguous houses, laid the foundation-stone of a spacious choir-house.

The ordinary had always been dubious what effects the great growth of the congregation-settlements might have. But when he saw so many lovely and blessed consequences arising from thence in this and in other congregations, since the commission at Groß Henneisdorf, and particularly during the last four years of his absence, he was excited to acknowledge and praise, also in this, the work of God. But yet, this progress made him so much the more vigilant and zealous, to protest with earnestness against every thing irregular, and to labour, in concert with the apostle *Paul*, in his discourses addressed to the congregation and the choirs, that a chaste virgin might be presented to Christ. To this end, he held frequent

frequent conferences with the labourers, both of this and other congregations, who came on a visit from time to time, concerning the state of their places, and considered with them, before the Lord, how matters might be best forwarded in the whole and in the parts.

I am enabled to give an account of the ordinary's transactions on this and other visits, which soon followed in the congregations, with the more authenticity, as I attended him, heard all his discourses, and took them down, in order to their being communicated to other congregations, and to the Heathen-missionaries.

§ 201.

THE ordinary bestowed, in particular, much labour upon the children's œconomies, which, during his residence in England, were transplanted from Wetteravia to Upper Lusatia, by way of Ebersdorf and Barby, where two divisions of them staid for some time; together with some children of labourers and pilgrims, from Holland and other places. The œconomy of boys was distributed in *Niesky*, *Uhyß*, and *Groß Hennerdorf*, and that of girls was settled at Herrnhut. Here was, besides, a school established for the boys, and another for the girls, whose parents lived in the place. But this situation of the œconomies was found inconvenient in several respects; for which reason the œconomy at *Niesky* was, in the year 1756, removed to *Hennerdorf*, and joined to that already there; and the œconomy at *Uhyß* was transplanted to *Niesky*.

The ordinary frequently visited these œconomies, made separate collections of scripture-texts for the use of the children, after the model of the daily words, containing a text for every day in the year; on which he, from time to time, delivered *Discourses to the Children*. These discourses were so distinguished by their simplicity, plainness, and solidity, that they were read with great pleasure in the other congregations,

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congregations, and therefore printed. He also composed a little *Hymn-book for the Children*, of short select verses out of ancient and new hymns. He often held them singing-meetings, and, when they had a love-feast, which was commonly on Saturday, he used to catechise them in singing. The method of this was, that he sang a line or two of a verse turned into a question, and the children sang the remainder by way of answer. Sometimes they themselves held the singing-meeting with well-connected verses; and this too they often did at their work, or in their walks. Persons that had an opportunity of attending such meetings, (and often large companies of strangers, who were there on a visit, pressed in) knew not which to admire most, the promptness of the children, the melody of their voices, the connexion of the subjects, (by which generally the text of the day was illustrated in singing) their order, serenity, and devotion, or the chearful and heavenly look of their countenances. At the same time it was sensibly felt, that God was in the midst of them, and perfected his praise out of the mouth of babes.

### § 202.

BUT I must mention a fifth œconomy, which was settled at *Barby*. As early as the year 1749, the *Seminary* of the Brethren was transplanted from Marienborn hither, together with the company of writers, who had the charge of copying the accounts of the progress of the work of God through the service of the Brethren, and the homilies of the ordinary, which were sent to the congregations and missions. Since that time, the seminary had not received such a supply of students from the universities, as before. Hence it became necessary to think of training up young people from the congregations for their future service. The youths of birth and condition, who studied in the *Pædagogium*, multiplied, and grew apace. Some were sent to universities; but the issue was not agreeable with respect to several

several of them; so that the Brethren dreaded the same detriment, which the ancient Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia had lamented, and which had induced them to alter the old method of having their youth first privately instructed by ministers, and then sending them to universities; and to erect schools of their own\*. For these and other reasons, in the year 1754, an *Academy*, or *College*, was instituted at *Barby* for students from the congregations of the Brethren, in which they were instructed in the most essential parts of divinity, the law, and physic, and perfected in languages, mathematics, and other useful sciences. After the completion of their studies, it was submitted to their parents or guardians, whether they would send them to other universities, or upon travels to other countries; and, in this case, due care was taken, that they might be under the conduct of some experienced Brother, and that they might be sent to such places, where the aim of such travels might be obtained with the least expence, and, if possible, without any detriment to their souls.

The ordinary visited this institution the first time in October of the year 1755. He was pleased with the regulations, conferred with the tutors, saw and spoke with all the members of it, and held them several discourses. Some of the students were received as acoluths of the church of the Brethren. Many Brethren and friends, from the parts adjacent, embraced this opportunity of visiting here, and attended with blessing the discourses, which the ordinary delivered to the congregation, and the sermons in the chapel of the palace, preached by the chaplain, *Gottfried Clemens*, and by one or another clergyman, being there on a visit. This congregation, indeed, was yet very small; but its peaceful stillness, and the good order with which the frequent visits of friends around was conducted, made the ordinary's abode here very agreeable to him.

\* See the *Ancient History of the Brethren*, § 37.

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I must still mention, that the princess of *Anhalt Zerbst*, mother of the then grand-duchess, present empress of Russia, several times honoured the college at Barby with her visits, and expressed her satisfaction and approbation.

### § 203.

THE ordinary, after his return to Upper Lusatia, took up his abode in the first house he had built at Bertholdsdorf, which he called, *Bethel*. This house was therefore agreeable to him, because the œconomy of grace in the renewed Unity of the Brethren was, in some measure, first begun in it; and on account of the blessed meetings, in which he formerly repeated the sermons of the Rev. Mr. *Rothe*, and the first conferences held with the Moravian Brethren, for removing the dissensions which arose among them in the beginning, and uniting their hearts. (§ 7, and 15.) Many of his subjects had attained to the knowledge of salvation, and some of them were employed in the service of God among Christians and Heathens. Here he, and some assistants, laboured assiduously for the benefit of the congregations of the Brethren. He visited frequently at Herrnhut and Hennenndorf, delivered homilies to the congregation, the choirs, and the children, and made a regulation, that all the inhabitants of Herrnhut might attend his family-meetings in certain divisions. As the people of Bertholdsdorf often expressed a desire to hear some discourses from their former lord, whose labours had redounded to the blessing of so many souls among Christians and Heathens, to which (as they expressed it) they had a prior right; he, therefore, every Sunday evening, delivered a discourse to them, at which they eagerly attended. These are the printed homilies, well known in Germany by the name of, *The Bertholdsdorf-Discourses*, and which have been read with much blessing, both in the Brethren's congregations, and by others.

There live many Brethren in this village, part of whom removed hither from Herrnhut, on account of the circumstances



stances of their families, part came from other places to enjoy liberty of conscience here, and part were won by the blessed preaching of the gospel in the parish-church. for the ordinary and his consort had been solicitous from the beginning to provide their vassals with such ministers as might build them up in doctrine and practice, and to appoint such stewards and bailiffs, as would not obstruct, but promote, their conversion. They paid particular attention to the awakened people among their vassals, and kept certain Brethren to be assistants to the minister in the spiritual care of their own and their children's souls.

## § 204.

FAITHFUL ministers had not been wanting likewise in other places in Upper Lusatia, for a long time past, whose labours produced fruit here and there. Soon after Herrnhut was begun, the evangelical sermons of Mr. Rothe at Bertholdsdorf were followed by multitudes from almost all the surrounding places far and near, and many of the hearers went from the preaching there to Herrnhut to be at the Brethren's meetings also. (§ 7, and 21.) By these means, a great number of awakened were found, many of whom joined themselves to the congregation at Herrnhut, and were led on by the counsel and care of the Brethren. Indeed, in the subsequent years, they fell into many parties, and the love of many waxed cold. But, about the year 1750, the greatest part recovered themselves, and their number increased, partly through the labours of certain ministers, who published the gospel in their pulpits with grace and power, and partly by the encouragement of certain lords of manors, who had an acquaintance with the Brethren. These ministers set on foot a conference with some learned and experienced Brethren of Herrnhut, which was held the first time at Bertholdsdorf in the year 1754, and has been continued ever since at Herrnhut with much blessing. They communicated

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to each other an account of the state of the work of God in their congregations, which were mostly very numerous, and imparted to one another their mutual good counsel, for the furtherance of it. Many hundred awakened people of their parishes, and from other places, expressed an earnest desire to have a closer connexion with the Brethren. Almost every Sunday, Herrnhut was filled with such as came to attend the meetings, and to converse with the Brethren about the state of their own souls, and of those belonging to them. Many attempted to procure their freedom from their lords, and leave from the Brethren to move to Herrnhut. In order to prevent the greatest part of them from taking these steps, and yet to satisfy them, in some measure, in another way, it was thought proper to make a regulation among them, that they should not, as hitherto had been the case almost every Sunday, come to Herrnhut, often in very great numbers, which might give room for umbrage, disorder, and dissatisfaction; but only at certain times, and in appointed companies, in smaller numbers. They were to have their own meetings; and some Brethren were nominated, with whom they might converse more particularly. But, that they might have some opportunity for private edification in their own places, they were advised, with the approbation of their lords and ministers, who were in connexion with the congregation of the Brethren, to come together, in small companies, on certain days, after their work was finished, to sing and pray together, to read the Bible and other profitable books, to converse of the state of their hearts, and to comfort and encourage one another; but not to meddle with explaining the scriptures, and propounding their private opinions, which often genders strife. At the same time, they were exhorted, with earnestness as well as love, to behave themselves as dutiful subjects, faithful adherents to their religion, and orderly and diligent members

members of society; that so their walk, more than their words, might provoke others to faith and good works. A fundamental maxim of the Brethren in this regulation, and others of the kind, was, that all those, who would have any fellowship with them, should keep regularly to their churches and the sacraments; and if, perhaps, the ministers of their places were prejudiced against the Brethren's congregation, they should, nevertheless, live in love and peace with them. Therefore, the Brethren would have nothing to do with such as raised contentions or other disorders, or were not willing to be put to rights, and to alter their principles. The same brotherly advice and exhortation was given to all the dispersed Brethren and friends every where. For, in almost all the Protestant countries in Germany and elsewhere, yea, even in some kingdoms where the Protestants are only tolerated, or are even under oppression, there were some, and in many places great numbers of, awakened souls, who availed themselves of the counsel and assistance of the Brethren. In most countries there was no want of ministers in the Lutheran and Reformed churches, who carried on the work of God in fellowship with the Brethren, and maintained a friendly correspondence with them. Almost every congregation of the Brethren had such ministers in their neighbourhood. With these divines, consultations were held, how it might be best to treat the awakened, so that they could enjoy all due spiritual care and edification in their own places, and all untimely inclination of removing to the congregations of the Brethren might be prevented.

This regulation was very acceptable to the awakened, and greatly blessed in its consequences. It had also this good effect, that many of their neighbours were incited to a more constant attendance upon divine service, and were fond of going to the holy communion at the same time with them;

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yea, many were converted with their whole hearts unto God. By these steps, the unfeigned good inclinations of the Brethren towards the Protestant church became undeniably manifest to all who would not be wilfully blind; the immoderate desire of many, to live in congregation-places, was suppressed; and the upright intention of the Brethren to support and promote the work of God in the Protestant religions, was happily successful, to the satisfaction and encouragement of many faithful and blessed ministers in these churches.

#### § 205.

THE benefit which the choirs of single Brethren, in all the congregations, had reaped from the synodal conferences which the ordinary had held in Lindsey-house with the labourers of these choirs, soon after the decease of his son, in the year 1752, induced him to continue the same kind of conferences with them at Herrnhut. One consequence of it was, that many Brethren, and especially the rising youth, laid the state of their hearts before him in writing, upon which he spoke with them. This enabled him to render the usual choir-homilies, much blessed hitherto, still more solid and practical. Such conferences he also held in the year 1755, with those Sisters who had the charge of the choir of single Sisters at Herrnhut, and those present from other congregations, and continued them in 1756. He entered again, in general, during his abode at Herrnhut this time, more deeply into the internal labour in the congregation, which he had long desired; and employed himself, more than heretofore, with the more special care of the married people, the widowers, and the widows choirs. During his absence, the widowers had built, in 1753, a spacious choir-house next to that of the single Brethren, and regulated every thing very conveniently in it. The widows had hitherto dwelt in some houses which were laid together; but growing too numerous for their habitation, he helped

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them,

them, in 1759, to erect a new and more spacious choir-house. He held, both to the widowers and widows respectively, choir-homilies, to their comfort and edification. He made a regulation, that he, or, in his absence, some other labourer of the congregation, should devote some part of one day in the week to every choir, which was called, *The Choir-day*, and, whereas before, the homilies to the choirs were all held on Sundays, one after another, which was very fatiguing, now a discourse was delivered to each choir on its proper day, and consultations were held with the labourers of it concerning their inward and outward state. He, afterwards, composed particular litanies for the several choirs; and these litanies were sung, and choir-homilies held alternately on the choir-days. These regulations were productive of many blessings.

## § 206.

THE ordinary found, at Herrnhut, and in other congregations, many Moravians, who, since the first emigration, (which had mostly ceased since 1734,) had taken the opportunity of the war in Silesia and Bohemia, to leave their country, between the years 1741 and 1745. He believed, that God had not brought the posterity of the ancient Brethren out of their native country merely to enjoy their own salvation; but that, disregarding all temporal conveniences, they should serve him in his kingdom. They had already ventured, in faith, to take astonishing things in hand, and God had made use of their service to the salvation of many hundred souls. Most of the Heathen-missions had either been begun, or carried on, by Moravian Brethren. The remnant of the Moravian Brethren, their posterity, and those who emigrated since, amounted to several hundred souls. The ordinary wished, that they might zealously emulate the faith and apostolic courage of their parents and predecessors, and not entangle themselves with the affairs of this life, nor

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please themselves in the conveniences to which they had not been accustomed, and which might disqualify them for the service of the kingdom of God. About these things he was desirous of speaking fully with them. To this end, he called together the labourers of the Moravian nation, and conferred with them about the present state of their people, through whom the whole Unity of the Brethren had received their right to their church-constitution and the episcopal ordination. At the conclusion, he held to all present, that were natives of Moravia, or their descendants, some discourses seasoned with salt and sweetened with love. His aim was, to renew in them the same mind which he once expressed in a birth-day ode made for a certain Moravian labourer, to this purpose :

“ The Brethren, coming from Moravia’s land,  
 “ Have freely giv’n to Jesus heart and hand,  
 “ To yield him joy, and be at his command.”

}

These conferences with the Moravian labourers were held in August 1755, and continued in May 1756, and were attended with blessed consequences for their own souls, and for the service of Jesus among Christians and Heathens.

#### § 207.

By these means, and the above-mentioned conferences with the labourers of several choirs, and other conversations with them, preparation was made for a general synod of the church of the Brethren, to which some deputies came to Herrnhut from all the congregations, and also from America, in the spring of the year 1756. One of the first transactions of it was on the 12th of May. On that day, in the year 1724, the house was begun to be built, in which afterwards was the meeting-hall, or chapel of the congregation at Herrnhut ; (§ 10.) and now the foundation-stone of a new meeting-hall was laid, after the former, within

within the space of thirty-two years, had been four times enlarged, and always proved too small again. The synod itself was chiefly held at *Bethel*, and lasted from the 9th of June to the 5th of July. But it was interrupted a few days by the decease of lady *Erdmuth Dorothea*, countess of *Zinzendorf* and *Pottendorf*, by birth countess of *Reufs*, &c. a faithful and blessed nursing-mother of the church of the Brethren. She entered softly and happily into the joy of her Lord, after a short sickness, on the 19th of June 1756. Her venerable remains were attended to their resting-place, in the burying-ground on the *Hutberg*, (§ 21.) by the assembled bishops, ministers, and servants of the church of the Brethren. The noble character of this wise, faithful, and universally approved handmaid of Jesus, the remarkable occurrences of her life, and her manifold blessed labour in the kingdom of God, and particularly in the church of the Brethren, will be more properly inserted in the *Memoirs* of the life of her consort, who, since then, is also happily departed.

At this synod the doctrine and constitution of the church of the Brethren, the inward state of the congregations and their choirs, of the oeconomies, missions, and colonies, and the outward oeconomical state, were taken into mature consideration. Preparatory to this, a conference of revision was held, in July 1755, at *Taubenheim*, not far from *Herrnhut*. It was resolved at this synod, agreeably to a wish the ordinary had entertained for many years, to constitute a *Department for the Inspection and Direction of the Church of the Brethren, in all its Branches*, which was accordingly brought to bear in the year 1757.

§ 208.

AMONG others, deputies were present from the Bohemian Brethren's congregations at *Berlin* and *Rucksdorf*. They laid before the synod an historical account, drawn up by

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their minister, *Zacharias Gelinek*, from the verbal and written relations of the members of his congregation, showing, that they were the posterity of the ancient Bohemian Brethren; that the major part of them came from the district of *Lititz*, the first seat of the Unity; (§ 14.) that, since their emigration, they had been in fellowship with the Moravian Brethren, and acknowledged in this character by a Royal commission in the year 1747. (§ 43, 44, 45, 77, 113, 114, 164.) Since then, they had continued their divine service and regulations in silence and good order, and had been countenanced in it by their former minister, *Augustin Schulz*, and protected by the patrons of the Bohemian nation at Berlin. Having been much increased, and the meeting-place they had used hitherto, now being too small, they bought a spacious house in William-street, and fitted part of it for a meeting-hall, which was consecrated, on the 26th of September, 1751, by the Rev. Mr. Schulz. He, according to an agreement with the ordinary, (§ 114.) administered the Lord's supper to the German and Bohemian Brethren in the hospital-church of St. Gertrude, and baptized the Bohemian children in the Brethren's meeting-hall. On the 15th of April 1752, this faithful and blessed minister entered into the joy of his Lord, having served the Bohemian Brethren in the gospel twenty-four years, and kept up their fellowship with the Moravian Brethren. Agreeably to a declaration made to the Royal commission, they now applied to the Unity of the Brethren, and desired them to give them a minister, as the late Mr. Schulz had advised them. The ordinary made other proposals to them. But not finding them feasible, they, by the advice of one of the king's cabinet-counsellors, with whom they treated this affair, gave a call to the deacon *Zacharias Gelinek*, or *Hirjchel*, to be their minister, having been, for some years, the late Augustin Schulz's assistant with blessing. This choice was approved by the Brethren.

Their numbers multiplied from year to year, partly by emigrants coming directly from Bohemia and Moravia,  
partly



partly by others, who went to Berlin from Silesia; to which country, during the war in 1741 and 1742, great numbers had fled from their native country. In *Kuesfeldorf* also, the flock being grown too numerous for the meeting-hall, they, by permission of the king, built a large house for a school for boys; in which, by order of the king, they were assisted by the board of war and finances with materials for building. In this house they built also a spacious chapel, which was consecrated on the 7th of April 1754.

These two Bohemian congregations having thus wholly joined themselves to the Unity of the Brethren, it was thought proper at this synod, now to grant them all the privileges of the Brethren's church. In this view, at the close of the synod, *Andrew Grafmann* was consecrated a bishop for the Bohemian branch of the church of the Brethren.

§ 209.

SOON after this synod, a war broke out in Germany, which had long been carried on at sea, and in America. It soon spread itself into all those parts where congregations of the Brethren were settled. It seemed as if Divine Providence intended to prepare them for the manifold dangers and difficulties that awaited them, but, at the same time, to encourage them to repose a child-like confidence in the Lord of hosts. For, on the very day when the first troops were seen on their march in Saxony and Silesia at the same time, the text for the day was, *When ye shall hear of wars and commotions, be not terrified,* (Luke xxi 9)

“ As children well attended,

“ And with all care defended.”

All the congregations in Germany and in America were molested by this war in various ways, and most of them to a very high degree sustained great loss and damage. The congregations in Holland, England, and Ireland alone continued in peace, excepting a short alarm in the North of Ireland,

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Ireland, at the landing of some French troops. The congregations in Saxony and Silesia suffered most. For though the greatest part of them were favoured with protections, or safeguards, from the generals of both the opposite armies; yet the calamities, which are the natural concomitants of war, could not be avoided, how willing soever the commanders in chief were to avert them. Often were they filled with painful anxiety, at the grievous circumstances attending the frequent marches of both armies from Bohemia to Saxony and Silesia; at their encampments near Herrnhut and around Gnadenberg, for several days; at both which places they were in perpetual apprehension of a battle, at the marches of numerous bodies of troops through their places, their foraging, and exacting provisions and contributions, by which many estates were almost totally stripped; and at the dangerous movements of the armies in Silesia and Upper Lusatia; but more particularly at so many battles and sieges in the neighbourhood of the Brethren's congregations. These complicated perils and distresses brought the Brethren present into great anxiety, and those absent into great solicitude with respect to the Brethren over whom such dangers hung.

But it would be too tedious, nor is it my design, to particularize all the troubles and distresses which, during this war, have befallen the Brethren at *Gnadenfrey*, *Gnadenberg*, and *Newsalz*, in Silesia, (which last place, as we shall see hereafter, was entirely destroyed and burnt) also *Herrnhut*, *Niesky*, *Klein Welke*, and the estates belonging to individual members of the congregations in Upper Lusatia; likewise *Barby*, *Berlin* and *Rueksdorf*, *Ebersdorf* and *New Dietendorf*, *Marienborn* and *New Wied*. We will reserve the most memorable events till we come to the end of the war, and then render our praises to our heavenly father for his marvellous help, protection, and deliverance.

§ 210.

DURING this war, the ordinary took several journeys to the congregations, and passed every where without much difficulty. In autumn of 1756 he made a visit to *Barby*, and at the end of the year returned to *Herrnhut*, by the way of *Niesky*. In the year 1757, he visited the three congregations in *Silesia*, which he had not seen for seven years. These congregations were not hindered in their growth amidst all the troubles of war, and brought their trades into better order, which gave great satisfaction to the supreme and inferior magistrates. It was even observed at different times, that the king, on his journeys through *New-Jalx*, showed a particular pleasure at this settlement.

Among the Bohemians, who came to *Silesia* in the years 1741 and 1742 \*, there had been some emotions at sundry times, giving rise to various kinds of fanaticism and disorder, which some would have laid to the charge of the Brethren, though they had not, hitherto, had the least acquaintance with them. These Bohemians had rather been warned to beware of the Brethren, and had been prejudiced against them by various false insinuations. But since that time, some of them, having fought for the Brethren at *Gnadenfrey*, requested to be taken under their care, and, according to the right which they claimed to the Unity of the Brethren, desired that they would send them ministers, or else appoint them a spot for a settlement, in the neighbourhood of one of their congregations. But the congregation at *Gnadenfrey* could not accommodate them, as they desired, on account of the difference of their language; and therefore referred

\* Since that time, they have built the following places: *Husfnez* and *Podiebrad*, near *Strehlen*, *Frederic's Graetz*, near *Opeln*, and *Frederic's Tabor* and *Ziska*, near *Wartenberg*. Some of them went to *Berlin*, and settled, with the Bohemians who were there before, at *Schoenberg*, near *Berlin*, at *Nowa Wes*, near *Potsdam*, at *Schoenlinde* and *Frederic's Hagen*, near *Koepenik*.

them

them to the Bohemian Brethren's congregation at *Berlin*. These sent deputies to visit them, the first time in the year 1754, and continued so to do several times afterwards. In process of time they attempted to build a place for themselves. But as they could not effect it, some of them removed to *Berlin* and *Rucksdorf*, and now are joined to this congregation of Bohemian Brethren. The residue are still waiting for the Brethren to take them under their more special care; but the Brethren have not as yet been enabled to gratify them in the manner they wish.

### § 211.

TOWARDS autumn of 1757, the ordinary made a journey to *Switzerland*, by way of *Barby* and *Marienborn*. This last place, which has been repeatedly mentioned, where the ordinary had resided some years with his household, and where the seat of the Brethren's seminary had been, was reduced, since the emigration from *Herrnhag* in the year 1753, to a few families, besides the Brethren required for the farm. They were favoured with the kind patronage of the illustrious house of the count of *Ysenburg Meerholz*, the territorial lord. They continued, in their degree, the same congregation-regulations, as had been before made at *Marienborn*; and had many visits from the parts adjacent, and many hearers at the preaching. They had various difficulties to encounter during the war, and especially before and after the battle of *Bergen* in 1759, when this palace was the head-quarters of the allied army for some days: but were graciously preserved amidst all these circumstances, and enjoyed much friendship and kindness from the officers of both armies.

From hence, the ordinary continued his journey by way of *Heidelberg* and *Basil*, to *Montmirail* on the lake of *Neuburg*. Here he found, at the house of Baron *De Watteville*, senior, a company of friends from *Switzerland* and the *Grisons*,

Grifons, who were desirous of a nearer acquaintance with him. He had some private conversations with them, and held them sundry discourses, in which he endeavoured to incite, and to instruct them, how they might enjoy the salvation which Jesus has purchased for us, in their religion, and in their outward calling, walking according to the mind of Christ; moreover, how they might be an edification to their neighbours and fellow-citizens, by a faithful observance of their civil duties; as also how to adorn their religion, and assist in preventing its decay, by a sincere and unaffected devotion in the church, pursuant to the example of our Saviour and his disciples. These discourses, and some others, were printed in German under this title: *Sundry Discourses of the Ordinary of the Brethren, delivered mostly on his Journeys in the Year 1757.*

From Montmirail, he made a visit to Geneva; and returned to Germany by way of Bern, Arau, Basil, and Schaffhausen, through the duchy of Wuerttemberg, and arrived towards Christmas at Eberstdorf, with a severe disorder upon him.

§ 212.

AT Eberstdorf he paid some attention to his sickness, and yet continued his labour for the benefit of this and other congregations. It was particularly recommended to the labourers here to do their utmost for the furtherance of the settlement at *New Dietendorf*; since the duke of Gotha had expressed his satisfaction at the beginning of it, promising his assistance, if they would build, and begin such useful trades and institutions here, as they had in other congregation-places. Upon this, the single Brethren, in the year 1758, made the beginning of building a choir-house, which soon afforded more employment, and brought more inhabitants from far and near, who were encouraged by some gracious visits of their sovereign and his court, and by the  
several

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several departments of government, to proceed in the enlargement of this settlement.

The ordinary went from Eberisdorf back to *Herrnhut*, and there adjusted a perpetual agreement, under the direction of the jurisdiction of the manor, between the congregation at *Herrnhut* and the parish of *Bertholdsdorf*, with respect to their mutual rights, and particularly the parochial fees. Here I will mention that, in the spring of the year 1760, the Rev. *Paul Groh*, who succeeded the Rev. Mr. *Shilling* at *Bertholdsdorf* in 1744, departed this life, and the Rev. *Henry John Boettiger*, of *Triebes* in *Vogtland*, was presented to the living.

In the month of February 1758, some synodal conferences were held in the manor-house of *Trebus*, and in May, at *Herrnhut*; at the close of which, several presbyters and deacons were ordained, and *John Nitschmann*, a Moravian, and *Nathanael Seidel*, who had lately held a visitation of the missions in America, were consecrated bishops.

The same year, in the summer, the ordinary assisted at a Silesian provincial synod at *Neusalz*. Soon after, he travelled, by way of *Barby*, to *Holland*, and, after a short abode at *Zeist*, fixed his habitation at the house, *Heerendyk*, near *Ysselstein*. For the furtherance of the building of *Zeist*, a perpetual lease was, in the year 1759, procured by the ordinary from the lord of the manor to the congregation. This congregation continued to increase, and was visited by many from far and near. Among others, the Jews came in great numbers to hear the Rev. *Samuel Lieberkuehn*, who was the minister here. He, out of love to them, had formerly lived at *Amsterdam*, and still frequently visited them; and they, out of a particular regard for him, used to call him, *Rabbi Schmuel*. There were seen some traces which gave room to believe, that these endeavours left some blessed impressions upon them. About the same time, a baptized Jew of *Herrnhut* made a visit in *Poland* and *Prussia*, to see what ground there

there was in the report of a stir among the Jews, and of their having declared themselves in favour of the Christian religion. But it was found that the hour of their visitation was not yet come.

## § 213.

IN August 1759, the ordinary went from Holland to *New Wied*, to take a view of the progress made in the establishment of this congregation, and to give them his advice. The reigning count, in pursuance of the conference he had with the ordinary, mentioned in § 196, had given a new and more ample grant of privileges to the French colony here, dated the 31st of January, 1756. After this, several persons had resorted hither from other places, and the single Brethren had begun sundry useful trades. This colony undertook to build a square adjoining to the city. In December, 1758, a congregation-house, containing the chapel, was consecrated. The congregation had increased to an hundred persons, and fifty more came the year following; so that the single Brethren were, even then, under a necessity of making an additional building, and also of providing a dwelling for the economy of boys. The single Sisters also began to build a choir-house for themselves, and the widows moved into one of the houses already built. The rest of the houses were fitted up for families, and some were built. The prosperity of the trades visibly increased, some of them being carried on by remarkably dextrous artists. The reigning count encouraged the extension of the buildings, and the establishment of profitable trades, and made a regulation between the city-police and magistrates, and the congregation of the Brethren. All this was done during the quartering of French troops in the city; which, indeed, was troublesome on the one hand; but, on the other, beneficial to the Brethren's trades. Moreover, the Brethren here had an useful acquaintance and correspondence with many ministers and friends in  
the

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the Palatinate and Westphalia, in Switzerland, in France, and other places. These were visited from time to time, or came to partake of the blessing of the Lord in the congregation; so that, what was formerly the intention with Herrnhag, a settlement of a congregation-place of the Brethren, for the good of those of the Reformed Religion, was here gradually effected. Most of the inhabitants came from Reformed countries: on which account the ordinary was desirous of procuring for them, as soon as possible, a Reformed minister, who had been an ordained minister in office. He gave them his best advice, held useful conferences with the labourers, and had interviews with many friends, visiting here from far and near. He saw and spoke with most of the members of the congregation separately; held impressive discourses in the French and German languages, at some of which the count and his family attended, and then returned to Zeitz, exceedingly pleased with the colony at New Wied.

#### § 214.

AT Zeitz he proceeded in the labour he had before begun, spoke with such members of that congregation as had opened to him their state and circumstances in writing, and held blessed discourses to the children and the respective choirs. But he more particularly delivered many incomparable homilies to the congregation, occasioned by a chosen collection of scriptural texts, treating of the merits of the life of Jesus, and of the sufferings he endured in his soul and body; of the imputation and real experience thereof, for the remission and washing away of our sins, and for the sanctification of the human soul and body; of the mind of Christ, and of our being made like unto him; of the joy in the Lord, and, in consequence, of the renouncing all those things which are unbefitting a child of God; of the life by the faith of the son of God; of the faithfulness required



required in all things, great or small; of the continual communion with the Man of sorrows; (Isa. liii. 3.) in child-like and confident converse with him, and in a liturgical walk before his eyes by day and night, amidst all the natural circumstances of human life, which are not sinful in themselves, and sanctified by his own human walk, and finally, of the entrance into the joy of the Lord, and our being at home with him for ever. These discourses were heard and received by the congregations with an uncommonly blessed impression, and some of them, by desire, read again more than once afterwards.

In his own house he had constantly so many assistants in his work, and so many labourers on visits from other congregations, that it commonly had the appearance of a synodal assembly. Thus, many conferences were held for the benefit of the church of the Brethren in general, and the several congregations, colonies, and missions in particular. Having dispatched the first mission to the *East Indies*, (the account of which, for the sake of the connexion, will be reserved for the following Part,) he returned to Saxony, and, having passed through Barby and Klein Welke, arrived at Herrnhut, just before Christmas.

### § 215.

A FEW alterations are here to be mentioned, which happened at *Klein Welke*. The estate was purchased, in the year 1756, by the countess *Riuss*, by birth countess of *Promnitz*, who gave some land to the Vandal Brethren to build on. A brother from Herrnhut, *Niels Randrup*, who fell sick there on his journey to Surinam, and departed this life, was the occasion of a burying-ground's being laid out. The inhabitants increased so, that the meeting-hall in the mansion-house could no longer contain them. They, therefore, built a congregation-house for their labourers to dwell in, and in it, a meeting-hall, which was opened, July the

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2d, 1758, by a sermon. About this time, they obtained a minister, who preached to them in the Vandal language. The empty dwellings belonging to the mansion-house were given to some single Brethren, who came to live at Klein Welke. Some single Sisters likewise had a separate habitation assigned them; and both these choirs took the charge of the boys and girls respectively, to instruct them both in learning and work. All this came to pass during the war, the burthen of which fell very heavily upon Klein Welke; they being more incommoded with the marching and quartering of troops, than other congregations, losing thereby both their stock of corn and of provender. However, they were preserved, in the most dangerous circumstances, from devastations by plundering and fire, which befel some of their Brethren in the circumjacent villages, particularly at the battle of *Hochkirch*, when many families, that had been pillaged and burnt out, fled destitute and naked to Klein Welke, and found there shelter and support. Amidst all this, the awakenings among the Vandals continued and increased in many villages of Upper and Lower Lusatia; and they were frequently visited and encouraged by Brethren from Klein Welke.

### § 216.

HERE we shall be obliged to deviate a little from the order of time, and to revert to the alterations which occurred in the congregations out of Germany, and in the colonies and missions abroad, since the year 1755.

The state of the congregations in *England* and *Ireland* may best be learned from an account of a visitation of bishop *Johannes de Watteville*, in the year 1759. The Brethren in *England* were not much affected by the distresses of the war; only that one of their ministers, being on his return, with his company, from a visit to *Herrnhut*, was taken by a privateer, and carried to *Calais*; but, when it was known that he

he was a minister of the church of the Brethren, and that he came from Herinhut in Saxony, he and his company were soon discharged again. The congregations had not much increased outwardly; though invitations, to preach in other places, had not been wanting, and some new societies were settled. But they had been brought into better outward order, and grown in inward grace. In some places, chapels, choir-houses, and institutions for the education of children had been built, the schools better regulated, and new schools begun in several places in Yorkshire; there being between five and six hundred children under the care of the Brethren there.

I will now mention some particulars of this visitation. First, a provincial synod was convened in Lindsey-house. In the year 1757 the Brethren began to preach in the chapel built near it. The visitation proceeded from hence to the West of England. They saw the congregation at *Tetherton* in Wiltshire, the societies at *Brinkworth* and *Malmesbury*, and three other preaching-places. From hence they went to *Bath*, where a society had been settled some time since, and public preaching begun, which was frequented by many of those who resorted to Bath. Here three clergymen of the established church renewed their acquaintance with the Brethren. The congregation at *Bristol* had much increased, inwardly and outwardly, and that in *Kingswood* prospered. A select number of the society at *Leominster* were formed into a congregation, and the society at *Apperly* and some other preaching-places were supplied from thence. In *South Wales* they visited the eminent methodist-preacher, *Howell Harris*, who, according to his own peculiar insight, had begun a family consisting of married and single people, who had one fund in common; and was intent upon establishing a closer union between the Brethren and the Methodists. At *Haverfordwest*, in South Wales, they found a society gathered by the ministrations of the Brethren, and particularly of the late Rev. *John Cernick*, who had preached the gospel here for

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some time. They begged very much for a congregation-regulation ; but could not be gratified at this time.

After a difficult journey over the high and steep mountains of Wales, Johannes de Watteville proceeded from Holyhead to *Ireland*. I will here not recite all the congregations and societies, mentioned in § 186 ; but only observe in general, that, within the last four years, they had been much augmented, and their labourers had been invited to preach in some distant places. The societies at *Drumargon* and *Lisnamara* were formed into congregations of the Brethren ; and the rest were better regulated. About this time, the land of *Ballykennedy* was taken upon a perpetual lease, and some families, who were desirous of living together, had begun to build. It lies between *Gloenen* (hitherto the seat of the labourers) and the town *Ballymeragh*, containing about two hundred and sixteen Irish acres.

From Ireland, bishop Johannes returned to *England*. In the congregations, mentioned § 173 and 185, several useful regulations had been made, particularly with respect to their outward order and support, and in some of them more buildings were erected. The congregation at *Bedford* especially was much increased, and in the neighbouring village, *Risely*, a chapel was built, where, as also in some other places, the labourers of Bedford preached.

### § 217.

*Pennsylvania* was very much desolated by the Indian Wars, which began in the year 1755. It was not possible soon to put a stop to the conflagrations and murders committed by the Indians. For these barbarians march not in regular parties to meet their enemies ; but sulk behind the trees, fire upon them, and run away : or else, they steal in the night, like wolves, to defenceless habitations, which in that country are scattered up and down in the woods ; set them on fire, murder the inhabitants, flay the  
skin

skin from the scull, and carry away such scalps, as trophies of victory. Every one that could, fled from the back settlements to more inhabited parts. But the Brethren, who did not live in solitary houses, but in numbers together, remained in their places. Malicious people drew a conclusion from hence, that they must be in a good understanding with the enemies, and propagated a false rumour, that the Brethren and their Indians intended to join them, and fall upon the English in the heart of the country. At this critical juncture, a forged letter was published in the news-paper, pretended to have been written by a French officer, that they would soon make an end of the English, since the Brethren and their Indians were of their party. This enraged the populace against the Brethren, and their settlements were exposed to twofold danger, not only from the Indians, but also from the white people. The Brethren were no longer safe on the road, or in inns; and people often collected together, and threatened an attack. The messengers sent by the Brethren to *Schomake* and *Wajomik*, to call away the Brethren from thence on account of the prevailing danger from the Indians, were branded as deserters, and not suffered to pass. At length, sorrowful experience too plainly proved the contrary of the supposed good understanding between the Brethren and their Indians, and the enemies of the English. Before the war broke out, the wild Indians had sent a message to the Indians at *Gnaden-huetten*, (§ 187.) to this effect, that, if they would not hear their words and come to them, they would purge their ears with a red-hot iron, that is, they would set their houses on fire about their ears, or drive bullets through their heads; and now they were determined to make good their menaces. Accordingly, they fell first upon the house and plantation of the European Brethren on the *Mabony*, near *Gnaden-huetten*. This painful event happened on the 24th of November, 1755. In the evening, when the Brethren sat at supper, all at once they heard a violent barking of the

dogs. As they were going to see what was the matter, upon opening the door, the Indians fired in among them, and laid one of the Brethren dead on the spot. Another ventured to leap out of the window in the back-part of the house, and escaped the murderers. The rest fled to the garret, and barricaded the door. But the Indians having set fire to the house, a youth, and afterwards the wife of the Brother that had escaped, leaped out of the back-window under the roof, and fled from the hands of the murderers, for which her husband had prayed God, when leaping out of the window. A third afterwards jumped down, was discovered by the savages, and slain. Two others who were out of the house on business, escaped with their lives. There were eleven persons killed in all, some of them shot and scalped, and the rest burnt. Their buildings, cattle, furniture, implements, and stock, were laid in ashes, by which the Brethren sustained a very considerable loss. The Indians who lived on the other side of the river *Lecha*, as soon as they descried the fire, took flight. How it went farther with them, will be related hereafter.

### § 218.

ALL that district was deserted by its inhabitants; but the Brethren resolved to stay in their places, and to put themselves in a state of defence, as well as they could, against the assaults of the savages. They inclosed their settlements with palisades, and kept a good watch by day and night. The Indians often secretly approached their borders, with an intent to surprise them; of which they had soon after indubitable information: yet they were always frightened back by some casual incident; so, that it never came to an encounter and shedding of blood. Thus, *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth*, and the farms belonging to them, *Gnadenthal*, *Friedensthal*, and *Christianbraun*, were the frontier places on that side of Pennsylvania, and at the same time the refuge of several hundred people. Among others,

the following singular circumstance deserves notice. Some Brethren, who had set out with three wagons to a mill beyond the Blue Mountains to fetch flour, in going, met the people inhabiting those parts howling and lamenting; because the Indians had attacked them, killed many, and set all their places on fire. The Brethren directly turned their wagons back, and, instead of flour, brought a number of wretched people, who had fled naked and bare from the Indians, and were so enfeebled in their distress, that they could scarcely creep forward. These poor people were, in a great measure, provided with necessaries, by the assistance of distant friends. Some of them having narrowly escaped the flames, others being plundered of all they had by the savages, and expecting nothing else but the total ruin of the country, it was a great support and encouragement to them, that the Brethren maintained their ground, and continued in their work; and that, at a time when every one would gladly have sold their lands, and have betaken themselves to other countries, a numerous company of single Brethren arrived from Europe, and a considerable piece of uncultivated land was bought. Thus, many of the fugitives were employed in labour, and earned their livelihood. Most of the trades of the Brethren, indeed, were hindered and hurt by harbouring so many hundred fugitives, who must be lodged in the workshops. But the congregation continued without interruption in their usual order, though under much trouble, and in constant alarms. Many of these strangers heard the word of God, which was not without abiding fruit.

## § 219.

At the same time, due care was taken of the country-congregations, and the dispersed Brethren and friends in Pennsylvania and the adjoining provinces were visited from

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time to time, according to the manner described in § 174; and not one of the Brethren commissioned for it met with any harm, although they often passed by the Indians lying in wait, of which, however, they were ignorant at the time. Some country-congregations, situate on the borders of the province, and consisting mostly of people living on plantations scattered up and down in the woods, were in imminent danger. Here and there some families were attacked, burnt out, murdered, or given away. These fled to their churches, and there put themselves in a better state of defence against the Indians. Those at *Bethel*, on the river *Swatara*, were forced, in the year 1756, to leave all behind them, and to flee for safety to the next country-congregation at *Lebanon*. In the same manner, the members of the congregation at *Lynn* (formerly called *Alemangel*) were provided for at *Bethlehem*. This proved an occasion to the Brethren, at a synod held at *Nazareth*, in the year 1757, to advise those Brethren who lived scattered, and often very remote, to draw more together in the neighbourhood of their churches, and to form regular villages. Even the Brethren from *Bethlehem* made a beginning, of building a congregation-place near *Warwick*, which they called, *Lutz*. This example was followed by more Brethren, and even by other inhabitants of the country.

Thus, the country-congregations remained in the best order possible in these heavy times, and, instead of diminishing, rather increased; so, that congregations, agreeable to the constitution of the Brethren, were settled at *Oblong*, in *Duchess-County*, in 1757; and the following year, at *Newport* in *Rhode Island*, and at *Manakofy* in *Maryland*.

### § 220.

THE work of God among the Indians on the *Susquannah* was carried on by the Brethren without interruption, and with blessing, until they were prevented by the



war's becoming general. They heard, as early as in the summer of 1755, that the savages in *Canada* were in motion; but continued, till October, visiting in *Wajonik*, and other places on the *Susquehannah*. The Brethren residing at *Schomoko* did not retire till all the places round about them were drenched with blood. The Indian congregation at *Patgatgoch*, on the borders of New England, maintained their post, though they had reason to apprehend their destruction, both from the white people, who were exasperated against all the Indians, and from the Indians themselves, who charged them with being the spies of the white people.

The Indian congregation at *Gnadenhuetten* on the *Ma-hony* continued undisturbed, till the before-mentioned farm was laid in ashes. The same night in which this happened, all the Indian Brethren there fled into the woods. The next morning, however, a great part of them returned, and took their refuge to *Bethlehem*, under the protection of a detachment of white people. But some who had lost themselves in the woods, meeting with others who just then were out a hunting, retired farther into the Indian country, and so had their return cut off by the troubles of the war. Thus they were necessitated to join the savages, till some of them found an opportunity, from time to time, to go to *Bethlehem*. The Indians, who were gathered together again at *Bethlehem*, applied to government in an humble address, assuring the governor that they had no part in the war, but would live with the Brethren in peace and quietness; since they and their children wished to continue to hear the gospel, which they had heard from the Brethren for a blessing to their souls. They also begged for protection. The governor assured them, in writing, under the seal of the province, that they should be protected, exhorting them to persevere in their good intentions. Their deserted houses were laid in ashes soon after their flight. Some time after, fort *Allen* was erected on that spot, for the security of the country.

country. They first dwelt at Bethlehem, and were used as watchmen of the place, and also to guard the Brethren when employed at their labour in the fields. As they found no opportunity of earning any thing, and could by no means venture abroad to hunt, which used to be the best part of their maintenance, the Brethren, at first, were obliged to support them entirely, towards which a contribution of five hundred dollars, from Europe, was a very seasonable assistance. They were, indeed, promised all possible protection from the governor; but, as a reward of one hundred and thirty pieces of eight was promised for the head of every hostile Indian, they were obliged to keep within narrow bounds, that they might not be killed by mistake, or out of greediness for the reward, or even through the wickedness of malicious people. This malice was carried to such a length, that, even after the murder on the *Mahony*, they still calumniated the Brethren, accusing them of evil designs against government. On the other hand, some that deserted to the wild Indians, spread a report among them, that the Brethren had cut off the heads of those Indians who had fled to them, in order to obtain the reward put upon them. This enraged the Indians to such a degree, that they hastened away to Bethlehem in large numbers, with a view to demolish the place. But some of them were softened by the representations of one of their chiefs, called *Paxnous*, whose wife had been baptized by the Brethren; and others were kept back so long, that they could not execute their design.

As soon as the greatest danger from these savages abated a little, the Indians had a piece of land near Bethlehem assigned them, where, with the Brethren's assistance, they, in the year 1757, erected their huts, calling this settlement, *Nair*. They cultivated the land, and did what they could to earn something of the Brethren by any kind of work. They had also labourers appointed for them, who preached, took care of their souls, and instructed their children. After  
peace

peace was made with the Indians, they had many visits from those living on the river *Susquehannah* and in the *Jerseys*. Many of them staid, some of whom were baptized, and others begged for baptism. But as *Nain* very soon was filled with more inhabitants, than could be supplied with corn-land and pasture for cattle; and as some of them did not suit at all for this congregation-place, the Brethren assigned to part of them, in the year 1760, a piece of their land behind the Blue Mountains on the brook *Wechquatank*, about thirty miles from Bethlehem, where they might live by hunting, and dwell together under the inspection of a missionary.

§ 221.

ALREADY in the year 1756, government sent proposals of peace to the Indians, and employed an Indian Brother to conduct the messengers of peace to *Diaogu*. At the same time, a proclamation was published, that all who were inclined for peace, should be provided with a safe escort to *Bethlehem*. Here, the treaty of peace was to be held. But the Brethren, being apprehensive that all manner of disorders might occur at it, by which their young people might receive detriment, by their remonstrances prevailed with government to order the treaty to be held at *Easton*. Mean while the Brethren freely received all the Indians who came to Bethlehem to be present at the treaty; and, having supplied their want of provision, conducted them to *Easton*. Now, the rest of the Indians, that had been scattered at the demolition of *Gnadenhuetten*, had a favourable opportunity of returning to their Brethren. Besides these, some of the *Munsty* nation, who had been among the murderers, staid with the Brethren, and were converted. In the year 1757, the treaty was closed with three hundred Indians, mostly of the *Munsty* and *Delawares*; who made peace in the name of ten nations. One of the articles was, that government should build them a town on the *Susquehannah*, and should  
send

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send them teachers, and maintain them; also, that the Indians who lived with the Brethren should remove thither. But these had no mind for it; nor could the Brethren advise them to it, because the offers of the Indians were as little to be depended on now, as in the year 1753. (§ 18.) On this occasion, Bethlehem had many visits from these Indians, and often such as proved very troublesome, nay dangerous. The chief of the Delawares, called, *Tadouskung*, one of those baptized Indians, who, according to § 187, had been persuaded to remove to *Wajomik*, lived, with an hundred Indians, near Bethlehem a long time. He often, indeed, lamented his sins, that he had proved unfaithful to his conviction, and had suffered himself to be seduced again by the wild Indians to their way of life, and even to engage in the war; but he could not descend from his supposed dignity, and creep, as a poor sinner, to the cross of Jesus. This poor man, soon after, lost his life in a shocking manner.

### § 222.

BUT yet, in this treaty of peace, those Indians were not included, who had retreated to the *Ohio*, and from thence harassed the English provinces. Government looked out for an European who understood their language, to send him to them, and tender them peace. It was a long journey, and a dangerous undertaking, and no one would engage in it. At last, *Frederic Post* found himself inclined to it. He was come, with some Brethren from Germany, to Pennsylvania, in the year 1742. He offered himself to the service of the Heathen, went accordingly to live among them at *Chelomekah*, and twice married Indian wives. After the emigration of the Indian congregation from thence, he prosecuted his labour among the savages, until the year 1749, when he brought some scattered Indians again to the Brethren. He then returned to Germany. In the year 1752, he was one  
of

of those five Brethren, who went from London to Labrador, and returned the same year. After some years, he went again to Pennsylvania, and lived with the Indians at *Wajomik*. When the war broke out, he came again to Bethlehem. Here the above-mentioned message to the Indians was proposed to him by government. As he had, for a long time, acted mostly according to his own insight, and often contrary to the advice of the Brethren, so neither could they advise him with respect to such an hazardous undertaking. But they wished him the blessing of God, seeing he undertook it for the benefit of the country. Accordingly, in the year 1758, he, in company of some Indians, made two journeys to the Indians on the *Ohio*, in which he was in great danger of his life. His journal, which was published in English, shows, that he was successful in persuading them to a cessation of hostilities, and bringing their deputies to the treaty at *Easton*. Soon after this, fort *Duquesne* was forsaken by the French, and taken possession of by the English, who called it, *Pittsburg*. Every one knows that, from his time, the whole scene of the war in North America was changed; concerning which I will not enter into particulars. Henceforward the country, for a while, enjoyed perfect rest from the Indians. The said *Post*, having obtained a pass from government, betook himself again to the *Ohio*, in order to attempt a mission among the Indians there. But when the war broke out afresh, he retreated to *Pittsburg*. Afterwards, believing he should not effect much among the w<sup>ild</sup> Indians in North America, he went to the Bay of *Honduras*, in the gulf of *Mexico*, to preach to the *Musquito* Indians, who are said to be of a more mild and quiet turn.

#### § 223.

BEFORE I leave Pennsylvania, I must still mention something of the ship, called, *The Irene*. Two ships had been bought at different times in England, and fitted for the purpose

purpose of the Brethren, to ease the freight of the colonists going to America, and of the Brethren returning. In the year 1748, a new ship was built at New York, which was called, *Irene*, (§ 169.) and navigated by captain *Nicholas Garrison* of New York. In 1749, she carried a large colony from London, and conveyed some Greenlanders back to their own country. Since then, she performed four voyages almost every year between London and New York, being a good sailor, and soon freighted. From the year 1755, captain *Christian Jacobsen* had the command of her. In November 1757, on a voyage from New York to London, she was taken by a French privateer, and sent for Cape Breton; but, on the 12th of January 1758, she was cast away. The crew took to their boat, but were overset by the waves. However, they all escaped to shore, though with the utmost hazard of their lives. Being thrown upon a desert coast, they were obliged to work their way, with great toil and peril, through snow and ice, for seventy miles, till they came to Louisburg. The prisoners, among whom were some Brethren, were carried to Brest. Having endured much hardship and distress, both at sea and on land, among a number of other prisoners, they at last were exchanged. Only old Brother *Schout*, an experienced mariner, having been mate on many voyages, was detained at Louisburg on account of sickness, and enjoyed much love and friendship from some of the inhabitants. But when the English fleet besieged this fortress, he was remanded to prison, and, for greater security, carried from place to place, being exposed to extreme danger by the perpetual cannonading. After the place was taken by the English, he, being set at liberty, returned to Bethlehem. Captain *Jacobsen* and some other persons bought a ship at London, till he got a new one built at New York, which was called, *The Hope*, in which the Brethren afterwards sailed to and fro, paying a reasonable freight.

§ 224.

IN *Wachovia*, in *North Carolina*, the Brethren enjoyed a tolerable degree of peace in the beginning of the Indian war, because the neighbouring *Cherokees* remained, at that time, friends to the English. But, in the adjoining province, *Virginia*, which was the chief seat of the war, there were, perhaps, more murders committed, than in *Pennsilvania*. On this account, many people fled to *North Carolina*, in the year 1756, and some hundreds, out of the country round about, sought and found refuge and safety with the Brethren. These enclosed *Bethabara* and the mill, near which the fugitives built some houses, with palisades, and kept good watch. At this time there was a great scarcity of corn both in *Carolina* and *Virginia*: for the crop of Indian corn, which is the main support of the inhabitants, had failed. But the Brethren had reaped a large quantity of wheat and rye, and thus were enabled to supply the wants, not only of these fugitives, but also of many other people, which they did gladly. Though, in the year 1758, the *Cherokees* and *Catawbias*, who should have guarded the country against the hostile *Schawanos* and *Delawares*, often marched through the place in large companies, at which times the Brethren were obliged to find them quarters and provisions for several days; yet God had so blessed the Brethren, that they could supply the wants of them all. But they soon found means for these fugitives to cultivate the land, or to earn something; and God blessed their labour so, that none suffered want.

The fugitives constantly attended the preaching of the gospel, and a blessing attended it, so, that some of them were laid hold on by grace. These had no mind to return to their former places of abode, and asked leave of the Brethren to stay with them. When Brother *Spangenberg* went thither upon a visitation, in the spring of 1759, and staid there

there till in the month of May, 1760, a tract of land was assigned them for building and cultivating, on certain conditions. There were also some families of the Brethren, who showed an inclination to begin husbandry and housekeeping for themselves. (For hitherto every thing at Bethabara had been done and laid out for the common good, as was the case at Bethlehem.) These also were provided with dwellings; and assisted with what was needful. This new place was called, *Bethany*. The occasion to this new settlement was, that the Cherokees also, having turned enemies, committed all manner of cruelties upon the inhabitants of Carolina. Consequently, no man was safe of them, who lived alone with his family in the woods. The Brethren at Bethabara and Bethany, notwithstanding their living together, were not without danger; and the spies often came very near their dwellings, but were always frightened away, without any bloodshed.

Moreover, government was very well disposed towards the Brethren, and the office of a justice of the peace in the county, wherein *Wachovia* lies, was committed to one of them.

§ 225.

In the Danish islands in the *West Indies* an alteration was made in the year 1755. These islands were transferred from the West India and Guinea company to the king, and a governor general was appointed, who fixed his residence in *St. Croix*. The mission of the Brethren had in him a real friend and protector, which was apparent on many occasions, especially at a very turbulent juncture in December, 1759, when a dangerous conspiracy was discovered among the Negroes in *St. Croix*, who had bound themselves to murder all the Europeans in Christmas-night. Malicious people gave out, that some Negroes, baptized by the Brethren, had a share in this conspiracy. But their innocence was cleared



cleared up even by the guilty themselves. The governor behaved in this affair like a father. As long as the commotion lasted, the Brethren, by his advice, omitted the large assemblies of the Negroes, till he gave them notice that they might begin them again; and, in order to authorise them, and to encourage the Negroes in their attendance, he himself, and some other gentlemen, were present. He showed the same just and benevolent disposition on another occasion, when an order was issued, that no Negro should be seen in the streets or roads after seven o'clock in the evening. Some people wanted to interpret this as extending to the baptized Negroes, and by this means to hinder them from coming to the meetings, for which they had no time in the day; he made the regulation, that such Negroes as had frequented the meetings of the Brethren, and could produce a certificate, signed by their teacher, should pass unmolested by the watch.

A new church, begun two years ago in *St Croix*, was finished in the year 1755; and another new church, built in *St. Jan*, was consecrated.

§ 226.

THE Brethren in *St. Thomas* had long formed a design of preaching the gospel to the Negroes on the neighbouring *English* islands. But they themselves were in want of assistants in carrying on their labour in the *Danish* islands, on account of the frequent sicknesses, by which one or another of the missionaries departed this life almost every year. On this account, many years elapsed, before they could spare missionaries for *St. Croix* and *St. Jan*, where, even then, they were left without any, having only a few helpers chosen from among the Negroes. At length, in the year 1756, a mission was begun in *Antigua*. Samuel Iles, an English Brother, who had served eight years in the mission in *St. Thomas* with blessing, went thither, and began to

preach the gospel to the Negroes, having presented himself, and made known his design, to the governor, and laid before him the act of parliament in favour of the Brethren passed in the year 1749. He met with some well-wishers, who gave him leave to preach on their plantations. On the 12th of January, 1757, he had the joy to baptize the first Negro-woman, and, soon after, five more. In the year 1758, he obtained an assistant from London; but this soon entered into his eternal rest. He then got another assistant, *John Bennet*. Afterwards he dwelt for some time on a plantation out of the town, in order to be nearer the Negroes working in the fields. In the mean time, various proposals were made to him for building a church. In the year 1761, a piece of land was bought in the town of *St. Johns*, and a beginning made of building a church and a dwelling-house.

#### § 227.

IN *Jamaica*, *Zacharias George Caries* proceeded in the work of the mission without any obstruction. (§ 191.) In the year 1756, he baptized forty-three Negroes, who, with those baptized before, and afterwards in 1757, amounted to seventy-seven. There were, moreover, four hundred catechumens. Besides the two plantations, *Carmel* and *Emmaus*, which were begun for the benefit of the mission, he preached on three other plantations, the *Bogue*, the *Island*, and *Mesopotamia*. This mission, therefore, required more labourers, and accordingly received them from Europe and North America in the years 1757 and 1759. But these, thinking differently from those who had been here before, with respect to the treatment of the Negroes, and believing that they had been too hasty in the baptism of many of them, acted more strictly with them, and obliged the catechumens to wait long for baptism. By this means, the former lost their confidence in them, and most of them drew back; and the latter were disheartened from coming to the preaching. The harmony

harmony of the labourers was interrupted on that account, and they almost desisted from their labour in the gospel. Indeed, in the year 1759, *Nathanael Seidel* came hither on a visitation, and made some alterations among the labourers. *Garies* went back with him to Europe, and the direction of the mission was wholly committed to *Christian Henry Rauch*, who came hither from Bethlehem towards the beginning of the year 1757. But things went no better afterwards; so that rather less was done than before; and some years passed before this mission recovered the detriment it had sustained.

§ 228.

THE mission in *Berbice*, after many heavy and grievous circumstances for several years, (during which it went, however, rather forward than backward,) was at last favoured with outward rest, sooner than was expected. The labour of the Brethren among the Heathen being at length acknowledged to be beneficial, no longer attempts were made to hinder, but to promote it. But inwardly, this flourishing mission likewise began to stop in its growth. The baptized, who now amounted to about four hundred, had been obliged to divide, for reasons mentioned in § 192. Most of them lived in three little hamlets in the neighbourhood of the Brethren, but some were removed to a great distance, and suffered damage in their souls. Besides this, the missionary, *Theophilus Solomon Schumann*, went to *Surinam*, in the year 1757, to assist the Brethren there in regulating their colony and mission; of which more hereafter. His wife died in this interval, and he sailed for Europe in the autumn of 1758, to place his children in the economies of the Brethren, and did not return to *Berbice* till the spring of 1760; having, on his way, been again detained in *Surinam* for some time. During his absence, this mission was not duly supplied; for there were only three Brethren remaining, who could hold meetings with the Indians. These

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not being ordained, the new-born children of the converted Indians were not baptized, nor was the holy communion administered. This discouraged the Indians. At the same time, an infectious distemper broke out among them, which was rendered more calamitous by a scarcity of the necessaries of life. This complication of misfortunes induced many to look out for more fruitful places. As soon as an account of these circumstances came to Europe, measures were taken to send them an ordained missionary from Bethlehem. Accordingly, he set sail; but the ship having sprung a leak, he was obliged to return, and afterwards could meet with no ship going thither. Hence it was found necessary to send a written ordination to two of the Brethren who had staid there, empowering them to administer baptism and the Lord's supper, which they afterwards did with blessing to the few remaining Indians. In this condition, *Schumann* found the mission, when he came again to *Pilgerbut* in the year 1760. Most of the Indians were sick, and many were departed this life. Almost half the Europeans in that colony died of the infectious disorder; and among them was the new governor, who had protected and supported the Brethren in their labour: and it was not long, before this servant of Jesus, *Schumann*, whose labour had been so blessed among the *Arawaks*, entered into his rest on the 6th of October, 1760.

#### § 229.

THE former circumstances of the mission in *Berbice*, and the separation of the Indians in consequence thereof, caused the Brethren to think of a suitable place for gathering and fixing them in *Surinam*, where, according to § 62, the Brethren had obtained a grant in the year 1740, with certain immunities, which they had not in *Berbice*. *Lewis Christopher Dehne*, one of the first Brethren that went to *Berbice*, in the year 1738, went from Bethlehem to *Paramaribo* with *Mark Ralfs*, in the year 1754. They worked in silence at  
their

their trades, waiting for an opening to serve our Saviour among the Indians in these parts. The former governor of Berbice, Mr. *Loefner*, who now lived at Paramaribo, introduced them to the acquaintance of the governor of Surinam, and conducted matters so, that he himself desired the Brethren to form an establishment in Surinam, offering them as much land as they stood in need of for a colony and mission. In consequence of this proposal, the missionary *Schumann*, in company of *Nathanael Seidel*, who was, at that time, on a visitation in South America, set out, in the year 1755, from Berbice for Surinam, to look out for a proper tract of land, and to treat farther with the governor about the settlement. *Abraham Bemper* went with them. He had formerly dwelt in Surinam; and, when the Brethren removed from thence to Berbice, went to Bethlehem. Such a voyage from Berbice to Surinam is often attended with more difficulties and dangers, than a voyage from Holland to South America. The distance, indeed, is only an hundred and sixty leagues; but it generally takes up a month's time or more; because they are obliged to go out of one river into another, then to put to sea, and again back to the rivers, and often have to struggle against wind and current. First, they pitched upon some suitable land on the rivers *Corentyn* and *Sarameca*, and then proceeded to *Paramaribo*. Here they delivered in a memorial, referring to the grant made to the Brethren in the year 1740. They received for answer, That government would write in their behalf to the directors in Holland; but that the Brethren there should also apply to them. In the year 1756, a confirmation of the immunities, granted by government, arrived from Holland. Captain *Nicholas Garriſon* went thither with eight Brethren, in autumn of the same year, to take possession of the land granted on the *Sarameca* and the *Corentyn*, and to treat farther with government concerning the colony and mission of the Brethren. Pursuant to an agreement with the missionary *Schumann*, some Brethren were to settle at *Paramaribo*,

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working at their trades, and supplying the necessities of these colonies; as their agents. On the river *Sarameca* the Brethren were to settle a colony, which should receive the Indians that neither could nor would remain in Berbice, and carry on the mission among the Heathen round about. On the river *Corentyn*, only a very few Brethren were to reside, chiefly to search out the Indians who had retreated from Berbice to those parts, and to serve them in the gospel.

### § 230.

In the spring of 1757, five Brethren made the beginning of some buildings on the *Sarameca*, and called the place, *Sbaron*. In August, they were visited by the missionary *Schumann*, from Berbice. He brought thirty Indians with him, who had a mind to live here. In the year 1758, they were recruited by six single Brethren, and Brother *Schirmer*, and his wife. They built a dwelling house and a meeting-hall, besides some out-houses, laid out a plantation, and began to raise cattle. In the year 1759, the Indian congregation there amounted to sixty-two souls. At this time, they were often visited by the Caribbees, who, having heard of the Brethren by the report of the baptized Arawaks, expressed a desire to live with them, and to hear the word of God.

The above-mentioned Brother *Dehne*, who was now pretty far advanced in years, and almost always sickly, lived quite alone among the Indians on the *Corentyn* till 1758, and had much toil and trouble to procure his maintenance. He visited the baptized Arawaks that formerly lived in Berbice, but now on the river *Mepenna*, and was often visited by them, as also by the wild *Waraués* and *Calepina*. The latter suspected him, and often came with an intent to murder him; but

but were at length so won by his friendly and cordial conduct, that, instead of killing him, they supplied him with the necessaries of life.

I must observe, in general, that the Brethren's manner of living in the American wildernesses exposes them to constant danger of their lives, from the suspicious Indians, wild beasts, serpents, or other venomous creatures. I could relate a great many remarkable instances of these and other perils and distresses, which our missionaries in North and South America have encountered, if the limits of this History would allow it. I will, however, mention an instance of what befel this Brother. For a considerable time, he heard every night a tyger roaring in the neighbourhood of his hut. He often found in the morning, that Indians had been at his fire in the night. His hut was formed by four posts under a large tree, with an Indian roof made of leaves. Being once attacked by a paroxysm of a fever, he was going to lie down in his hammock. Just at that instant a great serpent fell from the roof of his hut upon him, and, twining itself twice round his head and neck, drew itself together as tightly as possible. He could expect no other, according to human appearance, but to be either stung or strangled. His first thought, therefore, was, to leave some indication of the manner of his death, written with chalk on the table, for the information of the Brethren, that they might not charge the Indians with his death. But his faith was strengthened at that instant, to spread before his Lord and Saviour the promise he made to his apostles, Mark xvi. 18. *They shall take up serpents, — and it shall not hurt them*, and, in reliance upon it, he forced the serpent with violence over his head, and flung it at a distance, without being hurt in the least.

This missionary, having been alone among the Indians on the Corentyn a year and an half, was, in 1759, relieved by

three Brethren. These built, in the year 1760, a meeting-place and dwelling-house, which they called, *Ephraim*. They were often visited by their Indian acquaintance, and by strangers; and some of the baptized came to live with them.

The missionary *Schumann*, on his return from Europe to Berbice, took Surinam in his way, to view the beginning of this mission, and to contribute his best advice towards its progress. He found it in an agreeable and hopeful state, and made preparation that soon more of the Indians baptized in Berbice, who were afterwards dispersed, might remove hither. At the same time, the governor notified to him, that peace was made with the *Free Negroes*, that is, such as formerly were run away from the Europeans, and now formed a republic of their own, composed of a few villages in the wilderness, which often infested and greatly damaged the colony. These Negroes now desired missionaries to be sent to them, to instruct their children in the Christian religion. The governor wished to commit this work to the Brethren, and desired that some might be procured, who, as soon as the confirmation of the peace should arrive from Holland, might undertake this laudable work.

#### § 231.

THE congregation at *New Herrnhut*, in *Greenland*, had, for some years, been annually increased by forty, fifty, or more persons, through holy baptism. At the end of the year 1757, it amounted to four hundred baptized, exclusive of those two hundred who were already in eternity. This growth seemed now to abate, as the wild Greenlanders were unwilling to leave the providing-places they had been accustomed to from their childhood. But, on the other hand, the Brethren were invited by some Heathen, who had been stirred up by the gospel, to come into their parts. This was done, in particular, by the inhabitants of the *Fishers*



*Fishers Bay.* The factors seconded their petition, well knowing what great profit the mission at *New Herrnhut* had produced to the trade in *Ball's River*. The missionary, *John Bek*, being on a visit in Germany in the year 1758, proposed this to the Brethren. The eldest missionary, *Matthew Stach*, who had resided for some years at *Herrnhut*, resolved to go again to *Greenland*, in order to begin this second mission. He took with him from thence the two Brothers, *Peter* and *Jens Haven*, and arrived at *New Herrnhut* in the summer of 1758. Here, four families of *Greenlanders* joined him; so that there went, in all, thirty-two persons to begin a mission in the *Fishers Bay*, called, *Lichtenfels*. He built a *Greenlandish* house, and began by regulating the meetings and congregation-orders, according to the model of the congregation at *New Herrnhut*. The Heathen of those parts came frequently to visit them, to hear the gospel, and some, even to live with them. But they met with many outward difficulties incident to all beginnings of this nature, and saw many vicissitudes in the awakened Heathen, till in the beginning of the year 1760, when *Matthew Stach* baptized the first family of four persons of that district. From that time, this new congregation multiplied visibly. The inward and outward state of both the *Greenland* congregations, and the evidences of grace discovered upon manifold occasions, may be farther seen in the *History of Greenland*.

§ 232.

It has been mentioned in § 194, that the physician, *Frederic William Hokker*, made an attempt to go, by *Egypt*, to *Abyssinia*; but the commotions in *Egypt* stopping his progress, he returned to *Herrnhut*. In the year 1756, he made a second attempt to obtain his aim, taking with him *George Pilder*, a student of divinity, of the seminary of the Brethren. At their arrival at *Cairo*, they received intelligence that the emperor of *Abyssinia* was dead, and a prince  
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of seven years old had ascended the throne, under the guardianship of his grandmother. They also heard that all Romans and Greeks had been compelled to leave the country. They met with a kind reception from the patriarch of the *Copts*, and delivered to him a letter from the ordinary. They also committed to his charge a letter to the *Abuna*, or archbishop, of Abyssinia, *John CXXXVII*; because it was too late to travel thither this year. Neither could they prosecute their design in the year 1757. In the mean time, they often repeated their visits to the patriarch, and had some profitable conversations with him and his clergy. In the summer of 1758, these visits were continued still more frequently, when *Henry Cossart*, formerly agent of the Brethren in England, spent a few weeks with them. Cossart and Pilder (for Hokker was sick) also visited the *Greek*, as well as the *Coptic*, patriarch; and, at several friendly interviews, gave the Greek patriarch and the archbishop of *Lybia*, an account of the church of the Brethren, and particularly of the deputation to the patriarch of *Constantinople*, in the year 1740. Cossart also continued a correspondence with the Greek patriarch, for some time, after his return to Germany. Once, when they attended divine service in the Coptic church, the patriarch, seeing them among the people, sent for them to participate in the breaking of bread, which is a ceremony among the *Copts*, different from the holy communion. Afterwards the patriarch took them into his house, to be present at the *Agapæ* of the clergy, among whom were also two Abyssinians; at which much was spoken concerning the church of the Brethren, their liturgy and constitution. All the clergymen expressed their satisfaction at what they heard, and assured the Brethren of their love. But, after this, the patriarch, having heard various things against the Brethren, began to examine them concerning several points of doctrine. Before he would give them a recommendatory letter to the *Abuna* in Abyssinia, he desired a written account of their doctrine, origin, liturgy, and constitution.

stitution. With respect to the former, they answered his questions, and gave him some discourses of the ordinary, translated into Arabic, which pleased him and his clergy exceedingly. He declared before them all, that he looked upon the Brethren to be an ancient apostolical church, which had adhered to the simple doctrine of the Apostles, without mingling in the controversies which afterwards arose. With regard to the latter article, it was necessary he should wait, till the Brethren could procure him an account written by the ordinary himself.

§ 233.

In the mean time, about autumn 1758, they entered on their journey to *Abyssinia*. They went by land to *Suez*, and then took shipping on the *Red Sea*, setting sail on the 9th of October, in a Turkish bark. They had a tedious and troublesome passage, and at last were stranded, the 20th of October, off the island *Hassane*. The ship's crew made their escape in a boat; but the Brethren were obliged to stay on the wreck, which was almost entirely under water, and in this condition to wait a long time, before they were brought off. Twenty days they continued on this desert island, in constant danger of their lives from the rapacious Arabians, and even from their fellow-travellers, who believed they had great treasures with them. They had saved very little of their provision, and fresh water was not to be had; so, that hunger and thirst, heat by day, and cold by night, all concurred to make their abode on this island very disagreeable. No one would convey them farther, because they could not give what was demanded. However, at last they reached *Limbo*, and the 29th of November, *Gedda*, the frontier port to *Abyssinia*. Happy was it for them that, before this misfortune, they had lent a Greek merchant some money, which they now received again, though not without a good deal of trouble. Here they contracted an acquaintance

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ance with two Turkish merchants, whom the regent of Abyssinia had charged to bring a physician with them for the prime minister who was sick. They solicited the Brethren very urgently to go with them; but these could not resolve to go, because, when the ship was wrecked, their chest of medicines, and other necessaries were lost, and they would not venture to prepare medicines in a strange country, from, probably, unknown herbs. They, therefore, came to a determination to return to *Cairo*, to furnish themselves with fresh medicines, and to set out again the year following for Abyssinia. Mean while, they, by the merchants, sent a letter to the Abuna, with a copy of the ordinary's letter to him. The 20th of April, 1759, they set out on their return, by way of *Limbo*, where they still found some of the things they had lost with the ship; but were at a great expence to redeem them. Having been again in danger, on the 12th of May, of being shipwrecked off the island *Hassane*, they arrived the 12th of June at *Cossèir* in *Upper Egypt*. They found the great caravan was gone before they arrived; which was a providential circumstance in their favour, for it fell into the hands of the robbers, and was plundered. Therefore, they travelled from hence with a less caravan, a different road from that which is usual, to *Guena* on the *Nile*. At *Pharsut* they were very kindly entertained by some Latin fathers in their convent, and the 6th of July continued their way on the *Nile*, in company with several barks, which were often obliged to force their way through the robbers. Arriving at *Cairo* the 23d of July, they were informed that, a little while before, the plague had swept away great numbers of people. They had both contracted a sickness. *Pilder*, who could not recover his health, soon returned to Europe. But *Holker* waited till he received the ordinary's letter to the Coptic patriarch; and, having delivered it, he also returned to Germany.

## § 234.

At length, an end was put to the many years sufferings of some Brethren, who had borne a severe imprisonment at *Petersburg*, soon after the release of the Brethren mentioned in § 171. I have purposely reserved the detail of the occasion, process and issue of this whole affair, to this period. The superintendent, *Eberhard Gutsleff*, and the Rev. *Francis Helterhof*, had, in the year 1746, begun an institution of a school on the isle of *Oesel*, in the Baltic, the inspection of which they committed to the student *Fritsch*, who was come from the seminary of the Brethren to *Oesel*, and had been there several years as tutor to some noblemen's children. The physician, *David Kruegelstein*, who, some years before, was gone from *Marienborn* to *Livonia*, made some objections to the regulations of this institution, and entered into a correspondence with *Fritsch* about it. An answer from the latter, written with some warmth, was intercepted by a gentleman, who was their enemy, and some expressions were misinterpreted, so as to import high treason. It is known what the consequence there is of an accusation of this nature. Accordingly, in the year 1747, first the two clergymen, and afterwards the two other Brethren, were conveyed to *Petersburg*, and cast into the lowest dungeons of the prison in the fortress. They were confined separately, and so closely, that, for a long time, they knew nothing of each other's imprisonment. In the first years they endured great want of the very necessities of life, and their health was much impaired. *Kruegelstein* was confined a year and an half, before any of his friends could find out where he was; during which time he suffered not a little from the ill treatment he met with from some of his fellow-prisoners, until a certain secretary, who had been confined in the same place, after he had obtained his discharge, procured for him a more tolerable apartment in the prison. Being in want of a bible, he spared, by little and little, a sufficient sum out of the two *Kopecks*,  
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(about one penny) which were his daily allowance, and of the alms he received, to buy one. Having got the money together, he gave it to a soldier to buy the book, who, to his greatest pain, defrauded him both of the book and money. After three years, he received the first intelligence that Fritsch was also in prison. Just before, Mr. *Koehler*, surgeon of the life-guards, after much enquiry, learning from some officers the place of his confinement, procured a sight of him at a distance. The aspect of this respectable man, emaciated with hunger and sickness, with a long beard, in a ragged coat, without a shirt, and full of vermin, pressed tears from the eyes of this benevolent friend. He sought and found an opportunity to furnish him with food and raiment, and to procure, for him and Helterhof, separate apartments in the prison. But as yet, he could get no intelligence of the two Brethren, their fellow-prisoners.

*Fritsch* was conveyed from one prison to another ; and, in four years of his confinement, counted one hundred and forty fellow-prisoners, Christians, Turks, and Heathens, out of almost all the provinces of the Russian empire. He invented a method of twisting his own and his fellow-prisoners cast hair, and knit caps and stockings of it ; and, saving something of the alms he received, bought wool, of which he also knit stockings, and taught the other prisoners to do the same, whereby their calamity was rendered more tolerable. They all loved and respected him, and made him the overseer among them. After he had learned the Russian language of them, he served them, as far as possible, by word and deed. He was their cook, caterer, and preacher ; and when a clergyman gave the prisoners the Lord's supper, he was his clerk, and repeated his exhortations.

The superintendent *Gutslaff* was released from all his misery by an happy death, on the 2d of February, 1749, before his friends could discover the place of his confinement, and render him any assistance. The woeful aspect of his corpse contributed to soften the captivity of the other Brethren.

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Their case was repeatedly heard and examined ; but no proof of the offence, of which they were accused, was brought against them : and yet, their cause was never brought to a decision. The secretary who had their suit in hand, often expressed his most cordial compassion with them, and declared to the guard : “ Neither these people, nor their parents, “ have brought this long imprisonment upon them by their “ sins ; but that the works of God may be made manifest “ in them.”

The Rev. *Francis Helterhof* had the greatest lenity shown him. He soon found an opportunity of procuring some relief by means of a Lutheran clergyman ; and, as soon as he was informed by a prisoner that *Kruegelstein* was also there, which, however, was not till after two years, he sent him some refreshment. His wife also obtained leave to visit and serve him, till she departed this life in the year 1755.

§ 235.

FROM 1747 to 1751, each of them had been confined separately, and in the beginning in most offensive dungeons. By the good office and intercession of the above-mentioned surgeon, they now obtained leave to live together in the ravelin of the fortress, in a roomy vault, which, from the resemblance it bore to the burial-places of the Ancients, they called, their *Catacomb*. Here they dwelt nine months, performed divine worship by themselves, and were visited by many people, even by some persons of distinction, who received a blessing from their conversation. Here also *Kruegelstein* had an opportunity of curing many sick people. They were, moreover, permitted to go upon the ramparts, for the benefit of fresh air. At last, they obtained leave to move into an house without the fortress, which *Kruegelstein's* wife rented, having come to Petersburg to assist and nurse her husband. They lived together seven months in  
this

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this house. But, in the year 1752, on account of the escape of another prisoner, they, and all others in like circumstances, were brought again into the ravelin. In November this year, they were three times in great distress and danger of their lives, by inundations. This moved the secretary to procure them an house again; in which they lived twenty months. Here they became acquainted with a prince under arrest, whose consort was in Kruegelstein's cure, and who, after he had obtained his liberty, faithfully served them in many respects. Fritsch now began to instruct some children, to render the contributions of their friends towards their maintenance less necessary. At the same time, he served Kruegelstein as interpreter among the sick Russians. In the year 1754, all on a sudden, they were once more hurried in the night into the ravelin, the cause of which they could not discover. However, in a little time, they obtained so much liberty, as to go, under the conduct of the guard, to their families, whenever they desired to have the Lord's supper administered to them by a Lutheran minister. Kruegelstein also obtained leave to go with Fritsch to visit his patients. These were so numerous, and he was so successful in his cures, that some people esteemed him as a saint and a worker of miracles. At length, having lain four years and eight months more in the ravelin, and been under arrest twelve years in all, they were, in the month of March 1759, released from prison, with an order to go to the city of *Casan*. This journey of twelve hundred miles, in a wagon, escorted by a guard, was to them excessively distressing and fatiguing, having been so long confined; and Kruegelstein, who was before consumptive, fell into a dangerous illness. They went the latter part of the journey by water, and arrived in April at *Casan*. Here Kruegelstein came into such amazing practice, that oftentimes the yard of the house was full of patients. Fritsch and Helterhof were prevailed on by the director of an academy to assist in teaching. On the 23d of November, 1760, Fritsch, after a short sickness, departed



this life. Kruegelstein followed him the 9th of December the same year. Helterhof continued keeping school, till he, in the year 1762, obtained his full liberty by the mediation of a valet de chambre to the grand duke, who had been in prison with the Brethren.

I cannot omit a remark which *Kruegelstein* made to his wife, during his sickness on the journey : That, as early as the year 1738, he had a call to go, through *Russia*, to *Persia* ; but had suffered himself to be diverted from it. He, therefore, admired the ways of the Lord, that he should at last yet come to *Asia*, to end his race there.

§ 236.

I COME now to the last labours, sickness, and departure of the ordinary into the joy of his Lord, with which I shall conclude this Part. Since Christmas 1759, he had resided at *Herrnhut*, and had continued unweariedly in the spiritual labour, which, since his return from England, he had been engaged in here and in other congregations, especially during his last abode at *Zeitz*. (§ 200, 214.) He held frequent conferences with the labourers of the congregation and the choirs. On Wednesdays and Saturdays he had, for several years, been used to have love-feasts with his household, to which the labourers and other members of the congregation were invited from time to time. He entertained this company with the latest accounts of the kingdom of Christ, and presented those, who had had their birth-days in the foregoing week, with an ode, which was either read or sung before the whole assembly. On Good Friday 1760, he partook of the holy communion for the last time with the congregation, and on Easter-Monday, the 7th of April, he delivered to a large company of visitors from that district, a blessed discourse, which has been printed as an appendix to the second

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German edition of the well-known *Bertholdsdorf-Discourses*. (§ 263.) He also held a very solid conference with some neighbouring Lutheran ministers. He then set about making the *Collection of Daily Words and Texts for the Year 1761*; and went, to this purpose, through the Bible again. In these and other such labours he employed himself till the 4th of May, when he was seized with a violent catarrh-fever, attacks of which he had had several times almost every year. However, he proceeded in his labour on the 5th of May, being Monday, which day he had set apart, for some years past, for the revision of his discourses. When some Brethren reminded him that he wanted rest, he answered: "When the work is done, rest is sweet." He still made an extensive ode for the choir-festival of the single Sisters, and delivered an homily to this choir. This was his last meeting: for, immediately after, he was obliged to take to his bed entirely. From this time he could neither eat nor sleep for coughing, though he said he felt no heat or pain. He conversed, in a very agreeable manner, by day and night, with those who watched with or visited him, about one or another subject, especially the accomplishment of the testament of Jesus, John xvii: *That they all may be one*. He expressed great joy on account of several congregations, and some particular persons; and his heart flowed in very tender love towards all that visited him. Between whiles, he still revised some written and printed pieces till the 8th of May. When his amanuensis thanked him for the revision of the *Daily Words*, which was his last labour, he said: "Now rest is sweet." From that time, his mind was mostly occupied with the assembly before the throne of the Lamb. He reckoned up his acquaintance in and out of the Brethren's congregations, whom he should meet with our Saviour, and related several of the wonders of grace, which the Lord had wrought for the church of the Brethren, and particularly among the Heathen, within these thirty odd years.

years \*. He said among other things, "I only endeavour-  
 ed to obtain first-fruits from the Heathen-nations: but  
 "now they are multiplying to thousands." In the last  
 night he conversed much with his Lord. Very early on  
 the 9th of May, he sent for his son in law, *Johannes de Wat-*  
*teville*, and acquainted him with great chearfulness that he  
 should soon be called home, uttering these words: "My  
 "dear son, I shall now go home. I am in a perfectly good  
 "understanding with my Lord. He is pleased with me. I  
 "am ready to go to him. There is nothing more in my  
 "way." He then spoke a few words with him concerning  
 some points treated of in the last conferences, the execu-  
 tion of which lay with particular weight upon his mind.  
 And indeed, in the conferences of the last fortnight a great  
 many things had been resolved upon; and when he was  
 reminded that it would be too much at once, he answered:  
 "Now is the time for conferring; there will also come a  
 "time, when all will be executed." After this, he desired his  
 three daughters to be called; but could not any more speak  
 with them; for an apoplexy had deprived him of his speech:  
 He gave them his last fatherly blessing with a very friendly  
 look. In the mean time, many Brethren and Sisters gathered  
 round his bed and in the adjoining room, awaiting with tears  
 what the Master had resolved to do with this his disciple.  
 He looked several times round upon them with a friendly  
 mien, and towards ten o'clock in the morning reclined his  
 head, and closed his eyes. *Johannes de Watteville* accom-  
 panied his last breath with the words: *Lord, now lettest thou*  
*thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for his eyes*  
*have seen thy salvation*; and concluded with the benediction;

\* He once divided the whole church-history in periods of  
 thirty-three years, according to the age of Christ. And exactly  
 so long his labour continued in the church of the Brethren. For  
 it was properly on the 12th of May 1727, that he devoted him-  
 self for the service of it, relinquishing all his worldly em-  
 ployments.

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*The Lord blefs thee, and keep thee, &c.* Thus this fervant of the Lord fell afleep, and drew his laft breath at the concluding word, *Peace!*

The congregation was acquainted with his departure, in the manner customary in the congregations of the Brethren. Having affembled in the meeting-hall, this event was made known to them in a fhort difcourfe. They kneeled down, and, during innumerable tears, thanked our Saviour for all the grace beftowed upon them, through the fervice of this man of God, now happily departed; praying the Lord, as the Head of his people, to lead them farther in his grace, and to preferve them in love and unity. A written notification was directly fent to all the other congregations, in which, among other things, it is faid: “Ye know what  
“ a gift of grace our church has had in this difciple of the  
“ Lord. This witnefs of his death and bleeding merits,  
“ this reftorer of the church of the Brethren, this apoftle to  
“ fo many nations of the earth, this founder of the villages  
“ of the Lord, this faithful heart towards every poor dif-  
“ treffed foul, this friend of mankind, whole princely repaft  
“ it was to do good, hath our dear Lord called from his  
“ labour into his reft, this forenoon in the tenth hour.  
“ The daily word for our children is: *He fhall doubtlefs*  
“ *come again with rejoicing, bringing his heavens with him.*”  
“ Pfalm cxxvi. 6.

“ Who this defires, let him fay, Amen.”

237.

THE burial of his remains was appointed to be on the 16th of May, on which day not only many Brethren and friends affembled from the neareft congregations, but alfo many of the nobility, gentry, civil and military officers, and fome Imperial ftaff-officers, came from the country round about, and the Six Cities of Upper Lufatia; fo that the number of ftrangers alone amounted to above two thoufand.

To

To prevent all disorder among them, the Imperial general *Beck* had been applied to, and sent a detachment of grenadiers to *Herrnhut*, who were posted in three different places. At five o'clock in the afternoon, first the Brethren, and then the Sisters, assembled themselves, according to the choirs, in the square before the congregation-house, and formed a circle. Twelve Brethren brought the remains out of the meeting-hall, and thirty-two presbyters and deacons, who were present from different congregations, even from Holland, England, Ireland, and Greenland, and were the bearers of the corpse by turns, placed themselves around it. At the beginning of the liturgy, the bearers lifted up the coffin, and the procession went in the following order to the *Hutberg*, on which the burying-ground lies. Before the coffin went the boys-œconomies of *Herrnhut*, *Groß Hennerdorf*, and *Niesky*, the band of music, the girls-œconomy, the late ordinary's daughters, accompanied by some labourers of the Sisters' choirs, and then the liturgist with two bishops. The coffin was carried by sixteen Brethren, and sixteen others went by their sides to change. After the coffin followed the rest of his relations, and some labourers of the Brethren's choirs; next, the married Brethren, the Widowers, the single Brethren and Boys, and then the married Sisters, the Widows, the single Sisters and Girls. On both sides of the way to the *Hutberg* stood the civil officers of *Bertholdsdorf* and *Hennerdorf*. The strangers of distinction stood in or before the houses where the procession was to pass, and the rest of the spectators were placed round the burying-ground. After the corpse had been deposited in a vault, during the singing of some verses, the liturgist prayed part of the Brethren's church-litany, particularly these words. "We pray thee to keep  
" us in everlasting fellowship with the whole church triumphant, and particularly with this thy servant, and to let  
" us once rest together at thy wounds from all our labour.  
" Hear us, O dear Lord and God!" The congregation was dismissed with the benediction, *The Lord blefs thee, and keep thee, &c.*

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The whole was attended, on the part of the strangers, with an uncommon order, stillness and reverence, and on the part of the congregation, notwithstanding a very painful sense of their loss, with such a divine comfort and peace, that those who were present will never forget it. On the 11th of July the Rev. *Burchhard George Mueller*, of *Gross Hennerdorf*, (*Bertholdsdorf* being then vacant) delivered, in the church at *Bertholdsdorf*, the funeral sermon on the words of Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 10. *By the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace, which was bestowed upon me, was not in vain; but I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me;* in which he amply related the services of this venerable man in the work of God among Christians and Heathens, and particularly in the Protestant Church.

# THE MODERN HISTORY OF THE BRETHREN.

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## PART IX.

*From the Ordinary's Decease in 1760, to the General Synod in 1764.*

### § 238.

**A**FTER the interment of the remains of the late ordinary, the labourers residing at Herrnhut, and those who were present from the nearest congregations, met in conference to consult how the work of God among Christians and Heathens should be carried on, till a synod could be convened, which was not suitable at present, on account of the troubles of the war. It was resolved that every thing should be continued as hitherto, and that the general care of the Unity be committed to a conference established by the late ordinary, which was called, *Die Raths-Conferenz* (conference for advice). At the same time, the *Board of Directors*, formed by the late ordinary in the year 1757, (§ 207.) continued to have the care of those things which they were particularly charged with. But when, after some time, several members of the *Conference for Advice* went from Herr-

hut to other places, agreeably to their appointment, another board was formed in the beginning of the year 1762, consisting of some servants of the church of the Brethren, at that time resident at Herrnhut. This board was called, *The small Conference*, and had in a view the furtherance of the work of God in all the congregations and missions of the Brethren, and their mutual connexion. This conference, soon after, made an *Interim's Arrangement*, according to which affairs should proceed till the next synod. Our dear Lord, avowing his servants who were anxious to obtain his comfort, counsel and help, favoured them with a perception of his peace, and granted them the confidence and cordial concurrence of the congregations.

## § 239.

ONE of the first things taken in hand after the ordinary's decease, was the fitting out and forwarding a second company for the *East Indies*, which had been, in part, determined in his time. I will now recite the occasion and beginning of this mission.

In the year 1758, the ordinary had been informed that colonists were wanted in *Denmark* for a certain island. He offered some Brethren for this purpose, in a letter to the king. He was answered by one of the king's ministers, that this island was already provided for; but it would give his majesty singular pleasure, if some Brethren would settle on the *Nicobar Islands*, situate North of *Sumatra* in the East Indies, and endeavour to bring the inhabitants there to the knowledge of Christ. (On these islands a commercial establishment had been begun, in the year 1756, from *Tranquebar*, and the name of, *The Frederic's Islands*, was given them.) This offer was accepted. In the mean time, advice came that the first undertaking in these islands had miscarried, and that almost all the colonists, sent thither, had died. The Brethren were not discouraged by this; but inform-



informed the said minister at Copenhagen, that, notwithstanding this account, they were willing to undertake the mission in *Nicobar*; but that it would be necessary that the Brethren should have a settlement at *Tranquebar*, in order to support the mission in the islands from the coast of *Coromandel*. because it would not be advisable or feasible, to settle a colony in this distant wild country, immediately from Europe. This proposal was well received, and a deputy desired, with whom ministry might treat farther. *George John Stahlmann* was nominated, who, in the year 1758, went for that purpose to Copenhagen. After some negotiations with the *Asiatic Company*, he received an edict\*, ratified by the king, on the 19th of January 1759; according to which the Brethren had a place of settlement granted them, at or near *Tranquebar*, in which they were to enjoy, besides the civil privileges, all desirable liberty of religion and conscience, agreeable to the church-discipline of the Brethren. Leave was also given, ‘To preach the gospel to the Heathen, and to embody them into the Christian church by baptism, according to the laudable example of their Brethren in Greenland and the West Indies.’

As soon as this became known in the congregations, many Brethren immediately offered themselves for this mission. Besides their leader, the before-mentioned *Stahlmann*, and two students of divinity, *Adam Gottlieb Voelker*, and *Christopher Buttler*, (the former intending chiefly to learn the *Malabar* language, and the latter, the *Portuguese*,) eleven other single Brethren were dispatched from Zeist to Copenhagen. The 7th of November 1759, they went on board the ship, *Count Moltke*, captain *Schmid*. In the same vessel a new governor sailed for *Tranquebar*; of whom, and all the officers and sailors, the Brethren enjoyed much kindness. Having touched at the *Cape de Verd Islands*, they, in April

\* This edict may be read in the *Rev Josiah Lork's Collections towards a new Church-History*, &c. Vol. II. p. 328.

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1760, ran into the *Cape of Good Hope*. Here they heard by two friends of the missionary *George Schmid*, who once had lived here, that some of the Hottentots, baptized by him, were still alive. The 2d of July 1760, they arrived at *Tranquebar*, having performed the voyage in eight months, safely, and without any considerable attack of sickness. They were received by the government and the inhabitants with particular love and friendship. They directly bought a garden with an house, about a mile from the city, and built for themselves, and for the accommodation of those who might come after them, another house, and some workshops and out-houses. They soon planted *Nellu*, or rice, on their land, settled themselves in their trades, and met with a good sale at *Tranquebar*, and in the neighbouring Dutch and English colonies.

### § 240.

BEFORE an account could be received in Europe of the arrival of the first company, a second was dispatched from *Barby*, in September 1760, consisting of four married couples and five single Brethren. Ample instructions were given them for all the Brethren in the East Indies. One chief article was, ‘ That, with respect to the Christian religions in the East Indies, and especially those *Malabars* who had been converted to Christianity through the service of the Royal Danish mission, for many years established at *Tranquebar*, they should so demean themselves, that no hinderance or disturbance might accrue to this mission by their means; but that the kingdom of Jesus might be furthered by love and peace;’ which instruction, as it appears from the accounts received from them, they have faithfully observed.

This company set sail from *Copenhagen* on the 19th of December 1760: but were obliged to put twice into *Norway*, and in February 1761, into *Shetland*, and suffered much  
from

from contrary winds and great cold. In May, they landed at *Porto Bray*, in the *Cape de Verd Islands*. They did not touch at the Cape, but in July took in fresh provisions on the island *Anna Joanna*, near *Madagascar*. The 22d of August they arrived at the habitations of their Brethren at *Tranquebar*, and found them all well, though each of them had had a slight sickness. They themselves had been preserved from severe disorders, during this troublesome voyage. But, soon after, *Nicholas Andrew Fasilke*, the leader of the second company, who was appointed one of the directors of the whole mission, was seized with the sickness which almost every European there must undergo, before he is seasoned to the clime. The 1st of January, 1762, he ended his race, which had been attended with blessing in many places, (§ 114.) His wife followed him a few weeks after.

As to the labour of these Brethren among the Heathen, it was not in their power to attempt any thing on the *Nicobar* islands during the first years, being obliged to wait till the East India company should make again preparation for settling a colony there. In the mean time, the government at *Tranquebar* continued in the same good disposition towards the Brethren, and favoured them with all due protection. They became also known in different places on the coast, and had much work to do for others. The English governor in *Bengal* wished that they, or at least some of them, would go to *Chatigan*, on the river *Ganges*; and one of the Heathen kings would gladly have received them in his territory. But their determination was, to await, with faith and patience, the opportunity of going to *Nicobar*.

#### § 241.

IN the conferences, mentioned in § 238, it was resolved to guard against the farther growth of the children's economies, which already amounted to six hundred persons, including

the tutors and attendants ; the support of whom was attended with great difficulties, on account of the dearness of provisions, owing to the war. In this view, the labourers in the congregations were desired to put the schools in their respective places on a better footing, that the parents might not be obliged to send their children to the economies of the Unity. Accordingly, a successful beginning was made of it immediately. With respect to children out of our circle, it had been publicly made known, as early as the year 1747, that the Brethren were not in a capacity of receiving them for the future into the economies of the Unity. But, notwithstanding this, their number was greatly increased. It was, therefore, once more notified in all the congregations, that such could not be admitted any longer, without the highest necessity.

In several Heathen-missions, some of the necessary assistants were departed to their Lord, in the midst of their work ; and in others, an increase of labourers was needful, the labour increasing. Brother *Spangenberg* wrote from America, that labourers were wanted in Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, Maryland, New England, and Carolina. In consequence of this, a large company was sent, in the year 1761, to *Pennsylvania* and *Carolina*, seven persons to *Surinam*, five to *St. Thomas*, and three to *Greenland*. The necessary provision was sent to *Greenland*, as usual every year ; and to *Lichtenfels*, a congregation-house and meeting-hall ready framed. The Brethren in the other Heathen-congregations were furnished with the common necessaries, and also with some materials for their handicrafts, by which they might earn something towards their support ; and the voyage of the second company to the East Indies called for large supplies. All these things required great expences ; and it could scarcely be supposed, that, in these troublesome times of war and universal scarcity, all that was necessary could be raised. But the work of God, begun in all parts, was carried on in reliance

ance upon the help of God; and, at the end of the year, it could be said, with humble thankfulness,

“ He’s never at a loss  
 “ For proper ways and means;  
 “ And ev’ry act he does,  
 “ An act of grace remains.”

§ 242.

THE Brethren, going to America and the West India islands, could not conveniently be dispatched but from Holland and England. This furnished an occasion for a visitation in most of the congregations in Germany and other countries, which the bishop *Johannes de Watteville*, with a few other labourers, undertook. He travelled, by way of *Niesky*, *Klein Welke*, and *Barby*, to *Zeist*, where the Brethren, bound to *St Thomas* and *Surinam*, were dispatched. The same was done at *London*, with those going to *Pennsylvania* and *North Carolina*. At this opportunity, an English provincial synod was convened, at which the superintendency was committed to *John Nitschmann*, a native of *Moravia*, (§ 11.) on whom it was incumbent to have in view the welfare of all the congregations of the Brethren in these countries. Conferences were held with the labourers, and sundry beneficial regulations made to promote the inward growth and outward subsistence of this congregation. The same was done, on the return of the visitor, in the congregations at *Zeist*, *New Wied*, *Marienborn*, *New Dietendorf*, and *Eberdorf*.

With regard to the state of the congregations, some of them were not much increased in number, though the vacant places were filled up again; but some were very much multiplied. Their spiritual progress, since the departure of the ordinary, yielded joy and comfort to the labourers. They saw the fruits of his last labours with pleasure, and many of his discourses

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discourses were read in the congregations with great blessing. They valued them the more, and made the more use of them, as they had this chosen witness of Jesus no longer among them. But, in order to deliver into every one's hands the choicest and most edifying parts of his discourses, *Gottfried Clemens* resolved to publish *Extracts* of them. He began with the *Discourses on the Book of Genesis*, and delivered them to the press in the year 1763. A complete *Collection* was made and printed of the *Daily Words*, selected from the holy scriptures by the late ordinary, from the year 1729 to 1761. *The small Hymn-book of the Brethren*, of which the ordinary published the first essay in the year 1753, was revised in 1763, and printed for the use of the congregations.

The Brethren were assiduously intent upon it, that the word of God might be taught in the congregations in purity and with clearness. To that end, they endeavoured, more and more, to accommodate their manner of delivering the truth to the capacities of the auditory, and to avoid all obscure and indeterminate expressions. But they were, above all, solicitous that the members of the congregations might experience the power of the gospel in their hearts, and evidence it in their lives as children of God. Where this was wanting, they exercised due earnestness; yet with proper precaution, lest the gospel might be delivered in a legal manner, or even exchanged for the law. But if any one were not only insincere himself, but also hurtful to others, and could not be recovered by warnings and admonitions; such were put away, without respect of persons, rank, or office, of which there were several painful instances. On the other hand, the Brethren had the joy, only in the year 1761, to see between twenty and thirty persons, who had erred and separated themselves in former times, returning again, or to receive letters from them, intreating the pardon of the congregation for the offence they had given.

§ 243.

In the mean time, the destructive war, which was broken out in the year 1756, still continued; and, notwithstanding the rest obtained on one side, by a separate peace between England and France, in the year 1762, the distress in other parts, and the dearth increased more and more almost every where, and caused the Brethren to sigh and pray fervently for the blessing of peace. So much the more impressive was to them the word for the day, when the first news of the general peace was made known: *For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord.* Psalm xii. 5. The joy and gratitude with which all the congregations celebrated the day of thanksgiving for the peace, is past description. I will only make some mention of the celebration of it at Herrnhut, on the 21st of March, 1763.

The congregation assembled at the sound of the trumpets at eight o'clock in the morning, and first sang an extract of the *Song of the three Children in the fiery Furnace*. Then Brother *Johannes de Wattenille* spoke upon the following text, appointed by government for this day:

*Blessed be the Lord, because he hath heard the voice of my supplications.*

*The Lord is my strength, and my shield; my heart trusted in him, and I am helped: therefore my heart greatly rejoiceth, and with my song will I praise him.*

*The Lord is their strength, and he is the saving strength of his anointed.*

*Save thy people, and bless thine inheritance: feed them also, and lift them up for ever.* Psalm xxviii. 6—9.

He briefly enumerated the benefits for which we are called upon to praise the Lord. The discourse was heard with a mixture  
of

of joy and humiliation ; and, it having been said, among other things : “ He has delivered us out of all danger ; in the midst “ of the war he has preserved us,” the whole congregation wept as one man, and their tears of gratitude and joy caused an awful pause. “ Oh, were it in our power,” (says the writer of that account) “ instead of words, which are the “ least, to communicate to our Brethren the heart-melting “ sense of grace, which prevailed at the time !” After the discourse, the congregation kneeled down, and offered up prayer and thanksgiving unto the Lord with innumerable tears, and the conclusion was made with singing the *Te Deum*. They then went to the thanksgiving-sermon in the church at *Birtheholdsfors*, and, in the afternoon, the whole congregation had a love-feast, during which a cantata was sung set to music.

## § 244.

AFTER the love-feast, a narrative of the troubles which had befallen each place by occasion of the war, and of their preservation and deliverance by the Lord in all dangerous circumstances, compiled from the accounts of all the congregations of the Brethren, was read at two meetings, and heard with a joyful, but humble, sensation. I will here take no farther notice of the sufferings of the congregations during these seven years of war, and the loss some of them sustained, especially towards the end of it. But yet, were I wholly to pass over in silence all the faithfulness, mercy, and preservation they have experienced, it might be construed by many, who are acquainted with these things, and whom God made use of as instruments in them, as a culpable neglect and ingratitude. I will, therefore, briefly recite some particulars of the accounts read on the festival of thanksgiving ; yet without naming the many, and, some of them, high personages and commanders of the different  
armies,



armies, who, out of their own free motion, and with pleasure, were subservient to the will of God, in protecting his people. Their memory will not be forgotten by the Brethren; and I am confident, that their names will be thought of in the best manner by the Rewarder of all good in time and in eternity.

§ 245.

AT the commencement of the war, no favour or forbearance could be expected from any of the armies, the controversial writings, and especially some shameless libels, having infused into the minds not only of the common men, but of the officers, and even the chief commanders, such injurious notions of the Brethren, that they could not but be apprehensive of the hardest treatment. The questions which the Brethren were obliged to answer, more than once, to persons of the highest rank, and the enquiries made in places described to them as suspicious, were sufficient indications of the ideas they were prepossessed with by means of the defamatory writings. But the greater was their astonishment, when they were informed, nay, had ocular demonstrations, not only of the groundlessness, but of the direct contrary, of these evil reports. This made so much the deeper impressions on many, as they found in the congregations of the Brethren the character, almost entirely forgotten at this time of day, which our Saviour attributes to his disciples and true followers: *Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.* Matt. v. 11. These had scarcely related, in the camps, and at their quarters, how they had found things, but all were desirous of knowing the Brethren, and attending their public meetings. The Holy Ghost worked in such a powerful manner in many of them, that the secrets of their hearts were made manifest, and they reported, that God was present there of a truth. (1 Cor. xiv. 25.)

An officer of rank once said, "It is indeed a wonder of God, to see a people who believe with the heart!" "We poor men believe with the mouth, but our hearts are empty." Many were convinced of the truth of the gospel, by seeing instances of persons living conformably to it; and it has been found, that many passed into eternity as poor sinners, in reliance upon the merits of Christ, which had been set forth to them in the sermons of the Brethren. Many a partisan, whose name spread terror, were, by kind treatment, and more especially by what they heard at the public meetings of the Brethren for a blessing to their souls, softened to such a degree, that they not only spared the Brethren, but, at their request, also other inhabitants in those parts. When the army of the king of Prussia was in the neighbourhood of Herrnhut, this, and the adjacent congregations and children's œconomies were visited by persons of high rank, and were favoured with all kindness and forbearance possible in such cases. The like favour and protection they enjoyed, when the Imperial army came into those parts. Many hundred officers of divers nations and religions, among whom was a great number of princes, visited at Herrnhut within the space of a fortnight. Among the rest, it was a special pleasure to this congregation, to receive a visit from their Royal highnesses, the two Saxon princes, *Xaverius* and *Charles*. From that time, the visits became so numerous, that the Brethren were often scarcely able to give a proper account of things to every one, and to show them the institutions, before suspected, but now so much praised in the camp. "Ah," said at last a great general, "let not this trouble be irksome to you. As many visitants, so many apologists in all the world." The effect of it was afterwards perceptible in many places. In short, the despised and calumniated *Herrnhuters* (to use, for once, this improper name of distinction) found so much favour with all the armies and their commanders, that, if a

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man had a pass from Herrnbut, he could pass through camps, posts, and cities, without being detained.

## § 246.

NOTWITHSTANDING the many visits, nay, the frequent marches of small and large bodies, and whole armies, through the places, the congregations continued their usual meetings, without molestation. In a certain place, a newly built, and not yet inhabited, congregation-house, together with the meeting-hall, had been pitched upon for an hospital; but the sovereign of the country exerted himself in the most strenuous manner to prevent it, and chose rather to evacuate one of his own buildings for this use. In some places, indeed, the quartering of troops could not entirely be avoided, which was attended with the usual inconveniences. But, at the same time, much favour was shown by the officers. Some of them insisted upon their men behaving in a quiet and orderly manner, for this reason, that good people lived in the place. Besides, the quartering of small numbers of troops prevented the quartering of larger bodies, which would have been attended with more trouble. The chief commanders, by proper remonstrances of the impossibility of quartering men, and supplying them with forage, in congregation-places, so full of inhabitants, without land, were soon induced to allow them protections and safeguards, nay, they did it frequently of their own accord. In case one or other subaltern had a bad intention; before it could be fully put into execution, it was frustrated by his superiors. Thus also many too heavy contributions were, by the kind intervention of persons in power, either greatly lessened, or entirely remitted, by orders from higher commanders. Large bodies, on their retreat, passed through the congregation-places, without committing any excesses. Many thousands of a retreating army, who wanted bread, marching through a congregation-place, desired, with great civility, that they might be indulged with as much as could be spared.

## §16 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part IX.

All the inhabitants freely gave their whole stock of bread ; even the children in the schools cheerfully divided with them the bread provided for their breakfast, and the bakers baked as much as possible for their use. This willingness made a grateful impression upon them, of which the Brethren afterwards reaped the benefit in other places.

The preservations, when in danger, are innumerable. A certain congregation was surrounded, for five days together, by two main armies in battle-array against each other, the batteries being directed towards the place. But God so ordered it, that they moved farther, and the whole ended in a skirmish behind the houses. Another congregation-place was in like manner surrounded. On one side of it, one army was driven by another from the adjacent heights. The cannonading went directly over the place. But it received no harm, either from the actual attack, just behind the place, or by the retreat on the other side of it.

Notwithstanding the hot press of young men at different times, no Brother was forcibly taken away, either on journeys, or in the congregation-places. Not one of those Brethren, who, on messages and as guides, were often in the midst of skirmishes, or in other dangerous circumstances, received any bodily harm, although struck and fired at, several times. Even a company of single Sisters, with their convoy, happening once on the road to fall in with a strong body of troops, which were then going to attack the enemy, were civilly treated, protected, and, just at the right time, directed to a bye-way by the officers.

### § 247.

THE Brethren's congregation at *Nrojalz*, in Silesia, experienced a particular preservation of God, in the midst of plundering and flames. The first three years, they had entirely escaped the calamities of the war, till, in September 1759, the whole baggage of the Russian army encamped in those parts. On the 24th of September, hav-

ing endured, for eighteen hours together, the most poignant anguish, the place was totally plundered; and the 25th, the houses were set on fire over their heads. But, by divine assistance, all the Brethren, Sisters, and Children, after the loss of all their substance, were saved and delivered out of the flames. It was, probably, the contrivance of malicious people, intent both upon satisfying their thirst of plunder, and wreaking their vengeance upon the Brethren. As soon as the plundering began, the Sisters and Children retired into the congregation-house and chapel; and when the houses were set on fire, the resolution was taken to save themselves by flight. Some officers, endeavouring to prevent their escape, would encourage them, and promised to put a stop to the plundering, and to order the fire to be extinguished: but the Brethren had reason not to trust their pretences. They, indeed, saw no way to escape by flight, being watched, and the place surrounded with a barricade of wagons. But some Brethren threw money among those that watched, who would suffer no one to go out of the congregation-house, which amused them so long, till all the Sisters were got out at the back-door. The wagons being obliged, on account of the fire, to make an opening, they who fled found just room enough to pass. However, many Brethren still remained behind in the place. These were compelled to extinguish the fire, though nothing more was to be saved. Some of them, endeavouring to retire into the congregation-house, on the supposition, that the other Brethren and Sisters were still there, found all the doors nailed up, except the back-door, by which they had escaped. Many of the plunderers were extremely enraged, that they had been suffered to get off. It is no hard matter to guess at the cause of it. As soon as the fugitives got together in the open country, they formed a circle, and thanked their dear Lord with tears for this gracious deliverance out of all the danger of their lives and persons. For, though all the Brethren had been plundered, many severely beaten, and